HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKL WASHINGTO REPORT

NEWSPAPER

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Partisan Thanksgiving Proclamation

LBJ Message Stuffed With Self-Praise

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

This is the week for us to give up trying to be tolerant and objective concerning the illogical, incredible antics of this Administration.

Before us is President Johnson's Thanksgiving Day proclamation, which the White House has just released. It is this document which threatens to reduce us to the category of common scold.

This Johnson-signed proclamation is blatantly a partisan political document, which hammers away on the theme, "You never had it so good." No President previously had the effrontery to use Thanksgiving Day for such cheap political purposes.

Traditionally this annual presidential proclamation has had a humble, prayerful quality about it. There have been invariably references to recent national blessings, but always on a high-level note acceptable to all Americans, regardless of political party.

But not this time, my friends! The proclamation this year is the vehicle for extolling Johnson's "Great Society" and by subtle inference rebuking GOP politicians for raising the high-cost-of-living issue or questioning the spend-and-spend philosophy of welfare-staters.

Don't take our word for it. Here are four successive paragraphs of the amazing text:

"Never have we been better fed, better housed, better clothed. Never have so many Americans been earning their own way, and been able to provide their families with the marvelous products of a momentous age.

"Nor has America ever been healthier, nor had more of her children in school and in college. Nor have we ever had more time for recreation and refreshment of the spirit, nor more ways and places in which to study and to enrich our lives through the arts.

"Never have our greatest blessings—our freedoms—been more widely enjoyed by our people. Nor have we ever been closer to the day when every American will have an equal opportunity and an equal freedom."

All right. Guess just once whom we should thank for all these blessings? Yes, Mr. Johnson. What he was trying to put across in his Thanksgiving Day proclamation was that "you never had it so good" until he performed his miracles.

This is the same LBJ, by the way, who recently took stern exception to Bobby Kennedy's warning to Democrats at party rallies that their party should never lull people into complacency with the "you never had it so good" appeal. The New York junior senator felt strongly that his party should be the "party of dissatisfaction," never content with what it had done, always with new blueprints for progress in the works.

What Lyndon had to say about Bobby's complaint was most emphatic. He didn't mention Kennedy by name at his October 13 press conference, but he hit at critics and "theorists" and then lunged more directly at Bobby with this imperishable quote:

"In my travels in over 30 states I have never said, 'You never had it so good.' That is an expression of what people concluded I said."

Now, it could be that Johnson at the time was unaware of the "never had it so good" theme running through the ghost-written draft of his Thanksgiving Day proclamation. But he signed the document, didn't he, before leaving on his Pacific trip; so isn't he responsible for what it contained?

In order to properly abhor the demagogic thrust of the Johnson proclamation, what Presidents have said in similar documents in other years should be placed side by side.

Johnson himself in 1964 followed the traditionally soft consensus line.

There was the required humility throughout the text.

"We are impelled to raise our voices in His praise," said the 1964 proclamation, "and to proclaim our heartfelt gratitude for another year in which we have been blessed with a bountiful harvest, with intellectual, humanitarian, economic, scientific and technical advances and achievements, and with other gains too numerous to mention."

John F. Kennedy's last Thanksgiving proclamation in early November 1963, similarly was wholly aloof from party politics, with the usual generalities to which no Republican could take offense.

JFK referred to how the "nation [was] enjoying the fruits of ever-expanding agriculture and industry and achieving standards of living unknown in previous history. We give our humble thanks for this."

There is probably a valid reason for Johnson issuing his Thanksgiving proclamation so far in advance of the fourth Thursday in November—which is November 24, set aside as "a day of national thanksgiving."

It is customary for the presidential proclamation to be released in November, not October. In 1964 LBJ's did not come out until November 13.

Johnson could very well have waited until he returned from the Pacific on November 2. On the other hand, there is no mistaking the fact it was good politics to produce the proclamation on October 19.

It is the custom in many churches to have the presidential document read from the pulpit. So there are three Sundays remaining before the November 8 election when congregations can have relayed to them those definitive phrases about the accomplishments of Johnson's "Great Society" program.

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Thank you.

The Editors

Ripon Society vs. the GOP
Page 8

Secret Papers and Mrs. Kennedy Bar Full Assassination Story
Page 12

Does IRS Protect Labor Unions?
Page 10

House Rollcalls on Pool Bill And Demonstration Cities Plan
Page 15

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CONTENTS

LBJ Quietly Signs Order Covering Emergency Controls—By Walter Trohan....5

Howe Buses His Own Son—From the Chattanooga News-Free Press....5

Races of the Week....6

Ripon Society: Republican "Pseudo-Event"—By M. Stanton Evans....8

Does IRS Grant Tax Exemption to Law-Defying Unions?—By Ralph de Toledano....10

Mao Tops Red Chinese Hit Parade—From the Indianapolis Star....10

How to Cope With Public's Mistaken Idea About Profits—From the Washington Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States....11

Should Still-Secret Warren Commission Papers Be Made Public?—From the Allen-Scott Report..12

Mrs. Kennedy's Role as Censor—By Jeffrey St. John....12

The Advantages of Lacking a "Power Base"—By John Chamberlain....13

Credit Where Credit Is Due—By Morrie Ryskind....13

Spotlight on Congress....15

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

• Diplomatic Row is appalled at LBJ's selection of Xerox executive Sol Linowitz to be one of the President's chief advisers on Latin American affairs. Linowitz has had virtually no government experience, confesses he knows little about Latin America, doesn't speak the language and indicates he favors a "soft-on-Castro" policy. In spite of the fact he has made a fortune with Xerox, he appears to admire government enterprise more than free enterprise. As Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, told Linowitz: "It's about time you joined the government."

• Alger Hiss, the former State Department official convicted of perjury in denying Communist espionage, spoke last week at Princeton University. An audience of 250 students and faculty members cheered him warmly, interrupting his speech with applause when he criticized, indirectly, U.S. intervention in Viet Nam.

• The liberalism of Sen. Clifford Case (R.-N.J.) has so pleased the state CIO organization that it has overwhelmingly endorsed him for a third term. The CIO's approval is the first official support given a Republican candidate for statewide office in New Jersey by either of the two major labor factions—the CIO or the American Federation of Labor.

• GOP Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway is now favored to defeat Democrat Lester Maddox in the race for the Georgia governorship. Callaway, a West Point graduate with an excellent conservative record in Congress, is considered far more qualified than Maddox, who apparently is surrounding himself with those who know next to nothing about governing a state.

• The Los Angeles **Times** last week endorsed Ronald Reagan for governor of California, asserting the state would "greatly benefit by a new hand on the wheel of government." The **Times**' endorsement was expected to give Reagan still another boost in southern California, where polls show he is currently running strongly.

• One well-informed Far Eastern expert, who knows LBJ reasonably well, says the President may come home from his Asian trip with something that "looks like a peace formula" and could fool the voters. "I think something's in the wind," he says, "because the President is too shrewd a politician to come home with entirely empty hands."

• Rep. Alvin O'Konski (R.-Wis.), third-ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee and a member of the CIA watchdog subcommittee, says that in order to secure Soviet cooperation in the Viet Nam war the United States is willing to permit the "almost complete disintegration" of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

• The U.S. taxpayer might not know it, but he has financed an attack on the Federal Bureau of Investigation through the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). With a whopping $231,000, NASA has subsidized a book put out by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press attacking FBI crime statistics. Sociologist Albert D. Biderman, who contributed an article to the book, **Social Indicators,** said the FBI crime statistics "largely operate to show spurious increases" in crime and that the bureau "grossly distorts" both the rate and the distribution of crime in the United States.

• **Non sequitur** of the week is credited to columnist Drew Pearson: "[Republican congressional nominee Robert Cline] is lambasting Rep. Corman (D.-Calif.) as a 'Socialist' and a rubber stamp for LBJ, although the congressman is a devout churchgoer and family man who has the sole care of his two children since Mrs. Corman died last May."

• Another example of how LBJ knuckles under to the unions: He has vetoed the Guam right-to-work law. The bill was passed on July 12 by the Guam Legislature by a 14-to-6 vote over the veto of presidential appointee Manuel Guerreo, territorial governor. Under federal law, the bill was forwarded to LBJ, who has now decided to veto it. Reed Larson, executive vice president of the National Right-to-Work Committee in Washington, said: "I am appalled that the President has, with the stroke of his pen, denied the right of free choice to the 75,000 citizens of Guam. It is the most flagrant example in recent history of the subservience of a President of the United States to the wishes of the self-serving labor bosses."

• The Americans for Democratic Action, which often criticizes conservatives for "simple solutions to complex problems," has come up with an intriguing plan for curing poverty. In a booklet published earlier this month, the ADA says (page 14): "The way to end poverty is to give poor people more money, preferably derived from productive jobs that pay wages, but more money at all events."

• Former diplomat John Stewart Service, at one time a strong apologist for the Chinese Communists and closely connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations, now lives in Berkeley and is on the staff of the University of California's Center for Chinese Studies. Service recently contributed money to the campaign of Robert E. Treuhaft, an identified Communist, who ran for district attorney of Alameda County this year.

• Liberals argue that the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) is an indigenous rebel group in South Viet Nam and is not controlled by Ho Chi Minh in the north. But the North Vietnamese think differently. An editorial in the September issue of **Hoc Tap,** the Hanoi party's leading ideological journal, refers to the NLF and its activities as "cleverly applied" Communist tactics to gain control of all Viet Nam. American specialists on Vietnamese communism say the editorial, broadcast by Radio Hanoi, was North Viet Nam's strongest public admission of its sponsorship of the front since the movement's formation was announced Dec. 20, 1960, in Hanoi.

• The chairman of the general investigating committee of the Texas State Senate charged last week that pressures of "an unethical or immoral nature" were used to get contributions for the Lyndon B. Johnson State Park. State Sen. Jim Bates said the committee had received complaints that the State Parks and Wildlife Commission was "blackjacking" individuals into contributing. A member of the commission is A. W. Moursand, the long-time Johnson associate who is trustee of his private business holdings.

• The second session of the 89th Congress racked up appropriations of $145 billion—the highest spending level since the World War II peak of $147 billion. Appropriations for fiscal '67 increased a whopping $25 billion over the preceding budget.

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As Congress Adjourns

Even while on a political trip to Asia, President Johnson managed to win a number of key legislative victories last week as Congress sped toward adjournment. The "victories" will cost the taxpayer untold billions of dollars now and in the future and will increase even further the powers the federal government already has over the lives of every United States citizen.

Passed and sent to the White House last week were bills authorizing $1.75 billion to extend the scandal-ridden "War on Poverty" another year; $1.25 billion for the "demonstration cities" program, a measure which, eventually, will have the federal government running the cities (see rollcall, page 15); and a $6.2-billion program to extend the federal aid to elementary and secondary schools for another two years.

All these measures are major cornerstones of the "Great Society."

The President has also managed to extract from this Congress another massive foreign aid bill, an expensive "Food for Peace" program, a large-scale public works program and the creation of a powerful multi-billion-dollar new agency, the Department of Transportation. Through executive action he has also managed to vastly expand trade with Communist countries.

He has also spent more in one year than any other President in history. Such is the legacy that LBJ and his liberal Democratic Congress have left for the country since they swept into power in 1964.

Justice Douglas' Fee

Bobby Baker, the former Senate aide who is under federal indictment for fraud, and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas do not appear to have anything in common, but a large fee Douglas receives from a curious foundation has linked the liberal judge to the Baker affair and, incidentally, raised serious questions about whether he should continue to serve on the High Court.

Here are the facts which bear on this case: It has now been established that Douglas gets $12,000 a year from the tax-exempt Albert Parvin Foundation which supports fellowship programs for students from underdeveloped nations to study at Princeton and UCLA. The Los Angeles-based foundation derives most of its income from a mortgage on the Flamingo, a hotel and gambling casino in Las Vegas. The foundation's board of directors includes Robert Hutchins, now head of the far-left Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and Robert Goheen, president of Princeton.

According to the foundation, Douglas is the only official of the organization to receive regular compensation. He has received this $12,000 annual fee for the last four years.

For Justice Douglas to take money from a source outside his official salary is, in itself, considered a highly questionable practice by many people in Washington. But the Douglas case poses other ethical problems as well.

Albert Parvin, the chief benefactor of the foundation, is president and chief executive officer of Parvin-Dohrmann, a Los Angeles concern that specializes in furnishing restaurants and hotels. Its top clients include major hotels on the Vegas strip. Parvin himself has an interest in three other Las Vegas gambling casinos.

Last July the Parvin-Dohrmann company acquired the Fremont Hotel and gambling casino in Las Vegas. Purchase terms, according to the Washington *Post*, provided five-year employment contracts for two officers of the Fremont, Edward Levinson and Edward Torres. Their salaries: $100,000 a year each.

Levinson, it turns out, invoked his 5th Amendment privilege against possible self-incrimination in 1964 and raised other objections in refusing to answer questions put to him by the Senate Rules Committee investigating the dealings of Bobby Baker.

Thus, Justice Douglas finds himself in this extraordinary position: He is paid by a foundation which earns must of its income from Las Vegas gambling interests; and the foundation's chief benefactor is owner of a Las Vegas hotel and gambling casino that employs at least one official inextricably involved in the Baker affair.

Furthermore, as a member of the Supreme Court, Douglas will, unless he disqualifies himself, soon be sitting in judgment on the Fred B. Black case. It is alleged in this case that the FBI may have monitored telephone conversations between Black and some

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

of the interests associated with the foundation that has been paying Douglas his $12,000 fee.

Black, convicted of tax evasion in 1964, was a former business associate of Bobby Baker. The outcome of this case could help or hinder Black, Baker and those connected with the Parvin Foundation.

Authorities on the nation's judicial system privately express concern over Douglas' strange business relationship. The *Post* quotes one eminent Supreme Court student, who preferred to remain anonymous, as saying: "While I don't think this is entirely proper, I don't want to say anything that will detract from the popularity of the court."

Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) has said: "Justice Douglas' acceptance of payments totaling around $50,000 over the past four years from this Las Vegas operation raises a serious question as to its propriety as well as its legality. It also raises a serious question as to whether he should now be permitted to remain on the court.

"Membership on the Supreme Court is a lifetime appointment. The associate justices receive a lifetime annual salary of $39,500 per year, which continues even after they retire. The lifetime appointment with this liberal pension was provided in order to insulate members of the Supreme Court from any necessity of being dependent upon outside income either during or after their appointments. . . .

"Unless the court itself takes prompt action to handle this incident, the Senate Judicary Committee should initiate a full-scale investigation as to how far this practice may exist.

"To condone the right of any member of the Supreme Court to accept fees from outside clients would be indefensible and it would raise grave questions as to the integrity of the court itself."

Berkeley Behind Brown?

The reliable West Coast publication, *Tocsin,* reports that the University of California at Berkeley has dispatched "seven of its ablest student leaders on a political tour" on behalf of Gov. "Pat" Brown.

While school administrators utter pious platitudes about keeping the university free from election-year pressures, these students have one purpose: to echo Brown's "everthing's okay at Berkeley" line to the voters. By "coincidence," notes *Tocsin,* all the students are Democrats.

Tocsin says that each of the seven was provided with a "loose-leaf binder of instructions carefully prepared by the office of Thomas C. Sorensen, the University of California's new vice president for University Relations and brother to JFK's aide and ghostwriter, Ted Sorensen.

Even before arriving for work in his new $32,500 post, says *Tocsin,* Thomas Sorensen "had already denounced from Lincoln, Neb., a report by the California Senate Fact-Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities that the Berkeley campus was a haven for Communists."

• The left-wing International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, kicked out of the CIO in August 1950 because its policies were pro-Communist, continues to give its all-out support to Brown in the governorship race—support that Brown, moreover, has ardently sought despite the fact that the union's current leadership is still dominated by far-leftists.

The ILWU house organ, *The Dispatcher,* devoted its September 2 issue to praising Brown as one who has always been a friend of the union—apparently even when the CIO has not.

The September 30 issue of *The Dispatcher* carries a front-page headline: "California ILWU Urges All-Out Drive for Brown."

Trade With Red China

Trade experts in the Nation's Capitol have found a "sleeper" in that 68-page document released by the Department of Commerce which permits 400 new commodities to be shipped to Communist countries without a validated license. The "sleeper": Red China and North Viet Nam will also get a chance to purchase American goods even if the official U.S. ban on trade with these Communist nations remains in effect.

From now on, a vast array of American commodities can be shipped on an unrestricted basis to Portuguese Macao and British Hong Kong, colonies off the China coast which do vast amounts of trading with Red China.

In the past, goods shipped under a "validated" license to these colonies could not be re-exported. Now, since no validated license is required, merchants in these areas will be able to re-ship American goods to Mao's mainland China, which, in turn, can send goods to Hanoi. Among the commodities that these colonies will be able to re-export: agricultural products, metals, microscopes and telescopes.

Political T-Men

Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) has uncovered a Treasury Department regulation which one news columnist describes as "a slightly terrifying example of the bureaucratic mind in fever."

In effect, the regulation directs Treasury career employes to work actively in their own communities in support of not only duly-enacted laws in the civil rights field, but "open housing" and anti-poverty programs. However laudable these goals may seem to some, says Ervin, the federal government should not be able to direct anyone to work in these areas.

ERVIN

In the regulation, the Treasury Department cites the Civil Service Commission's instructions to agencies that their employes "shall participate at the community level . . . in cooperative action to improve opportunities and community conditions that affect employability" and that they should "actively support community efforts directed toward equal opportunity in housing, education, recreation . . . ."

The department goes on to say that the "key element to effective local action is cooperation. Treasury managers should, whenever possible, work with other agencies through Federal Executive Boards and Federal Executive Associations. . . . Treasury managers should be alert to opportunities for working with, or in support of, private groups, as NAACP, the Urban League, local Human Relations Commissions and Plans for Progress. Regional Office

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of Economic Opportunity [the anti-poverty program] should also be contacted for coordination and assistance. . . .

"Listed below are a number of projects . . . which may contribute towards improving employability. . . . Treasury officials may deem it wise to assume positions of leadership and view their participation as part of their jobs."

Here is a list of just some of the projects:

"Through Federal Executive Boards and Federal Executive Associations spot-light local housing problems with a bus tour through problem areas."

"Work with community action programs to persuade local newspaper to do a series of articles on local housing conditions. . . ."

"Work with federal and community agencies to support open occupancy."

"Forming equal housing opportunity committee to solicit open occupancy listings and promote equal opportunity neighborhoods."

"Getting city council to enact an equal housing opportunity ordinance."

The Treasury Department says this is only a proposed regulation. But Sen. Ervin points out that Treasury employes not only thought it had been cleared but "that personnel officers and equal employment officers were already preparing to discipline those employes who asserted a right to choose their community activities or even not participate at all—employes who might dare claim that their leisure time is theirs to spend as they please, with their families, or catching up with their work, or just going fishing."

One Treasury employe wrote the following to Ervin on September 27:

"The policies laid down in this regulation, as verbally explained by the Treasury representatives at the conference, go far beyond any concept of employe personnel responsibility previously expressed. In essence, this regulation requires every Treasury manager or supervisor to become a social worker, both during his official hours and on his own time.

"This was only tangentially referred to in the regulations and its appendages, but was brought out forcefully in verbal statements. Frankly, this is tremendously disturbing to me and to many of the other persons with whom I have discussed the matter."

Thus, just one more example of the way the "Great Society" goes about destroying personal freedom through compulsion.

LBJ's Forced Savings Plan

Sen. Ervin last week also disclosed another case in which a government employe's rights were abused, this time because he refused to join LBJ's "voluntary" savings bond program. The North Carolina lawmaker, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, has written Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara an indignant letter condemning what he termed the latest "outrage."

Guy Taylor, a civilian employe of the Army in Ventura, Calif., first learned of the campaign August 19, when he received a bulletin from his superiors warning that participation in the savings bond program was essential for employes seeking "outstanding evaluation appraisals."

On September 6 Taylor was told by a superior, Col. James H. Stell, that he had two weeks to sign up for the bond program. On September 21 Taylor wrote Stell that unusual medical expenses for his wife, plus the need to help support his wife's parents and to provide the sole support of two granddaughters, left him unable to buy savings bonds regularly.

Two days later Stell fired back a terse warning: "I wish to clearly point out to you that anyone working under my supervision who does not comply with my desire to participate in such a worthwhile program is not a member of my team."

The harassment continued. On September 26, Col. Stell dispatched a memo to "all subsector commanders, all unit advisers and all civilian employes," among others. It said in part: "Our [bond drive] percentage at present, both civilian and military, is 96.5. This is an excellent showing, but not yet good enough, but I am sure we will hit 100 per cent when . . . Mr. Guy Taylor . . . decides to get on the Savings Bond Team."

Taylor informed Ervin that his promotion was turned down because of his refusal to sign up for LBJ's drive.

Test-Ban Warning

Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), chairman of the Nuclear Safeguards subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has issued some disturbing comments about Soviet missile progress and America's willingness to compete with the Soviets in this area.

JACKSON

In a major address to his colleagues, Jackson warned that in view of massive Soviet efforts in the missile field "We can no longer be assured that we own a commanding lead in the field of nuclear weapons systems and must assume that the Soviets will narrow the gap materially if we do not do everything the safeguards permit in support of our own nuclear weapons capability."

The Soviet Union, he added, "is carrying out a very intensive nuclear weapons research and development program, has displayed new missile delivery systems in their recent parades, and continues a very active underground nuclear weapons test program."

"Seismic detection stations operated by several countries around the world," he said, "have announced some of these Soviet tests as yielding several hundred kilotons. That would indicate that they are able to test new types of warheads at high yields. Soviet military leaders stated that they have increased their strategic offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems, both quantitatively and qualitatively in the last few years and their underground nuclear test program and missile activities would certainly lend support to their statements."

While the Soviets are going full speed ahead with their testing and missile development program, Sen. Jackson said it has come to his attention that certain cost-reduction studies are being considered that would reduce our ability to resume atmospheric testing if the need should arise.

No studies should be put into effect, said Jackson, that permit "a serious degradation of our capability, as we are all well aware of the great difficulties and lapsed time required to resume meaningful testing from a stance of unreadiness."

"The last time we had a cessation on nuclear testing," he reminded the Senate, "the Soviets chose to violate this cessation of tests and conducted the most intensive nuclear weapon testing operation the world has ever seen. It took us much too long to react and we could be at a critical disadvantage if this were permitted to happen again."

While generally praising our underground nuclear testing program, Sen. Jackson warned about proposals that would put an end to such tests. The Johnson Administration has been considering such a treaty for some time.

• Research development experts at the Pentagon are now complaining that the United States is "running out of missiles." When the Soviets put up a new defense plant or missile, the United States normally "targets" it with a missile of its own. Defense Secretary McNamara, however, has so deeply cut back our procurement of long-range missiles that this will no longer be possible.

LBJ's USIA

The United States Information Agency, which glorified JFK on film, has now gone into the business of glorifying LBJ by distributing overseas only wholly favorable biographies of the President.

Reporter Andrew J. Glass of the Washington *Post* has discovered that the agency has bought and distributed 214,830 copies of *The Lyndon Johnson Story,* a flattering profile by Booth Mooney, a Texan who served six years on LBJ's Washington staff.

The USIA also translated the Mooney volume into 24 languages, including Persian, Vietnamese and Bengali.

In 1964, says Glass, USIA also okayed for distribution *The Professional,* another favorable portrayal of LBJ by his good friend William S. White.

Two recent books, however, have failed to make the USIA's "recommended list": Philip B. Geyelin's *Lyndon B. Johnson and the World,* published in June, and *Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power,* by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. Both books deal critically with many aspects of the President's policies and personality.

Appearing on NBC's "Today" show, Evans and Novak noted USIA's large distribution of the flattering portrayal by Mooney in contrast to its refusal to recommend their Johnson study.

Novak related that the USIA had informed their publisher that the book was "not suitable for a foreign audience." "What worries us," Novak added, "is that [USIA's policies] sometimes get a little akin to censorship."

USIA director Leonard H. Marks, it is noted, served as a consultant to the Johnson family for their Texas broadcasting interests.

The 'No Win' War

A disillusioned pilot just back from Viet Nam has charged that he and his fellow airmen are risking their lives on bombing missions that all too often are of no military significance. In a letter to Rep. William Minshall (R.-Ohio), Lt. Norde Wilson said that U.S. commanders passed up significant targets for "valueless" ones.

Minshall, a member of the House Military Appropriations subcommittee, predicted that the Pentagon would "turn on the machinery to discredit" Wilson and other critics back from the front.

"Many times we were launched on a combat mission with only four small 250-lb. bombs, when the F4B, the Navy's version of the Phantom, could carry 24 of these bombs. This was done for a higher sortie count," Wilson wrote.

Many night-bombing missions, he said, "were flatly ineffective and, for the risk involved in dive bombings at night, into mountainous and unfamiliar terrain, should not have been flown."

His squadron commanding officer and his radar officer were killed on such a mission, Wilson said, adding: "They would much rather have lost their lives pulling off a bomb run on Phuc Yen airfield on the docks at Haiphong or the oil dumps in Hanoi. We read daily of Washington's concern over making enemies of the North Vietnamese populace and of world opinion. There was no voiced concern of the number of American lives being lost unnecessarily because of indecisions and restraints being placed upon them, while the enemy continues at full force, killing in any way possible, without concern of world opinion."

Sen. Harry Byrd

Former U. S. Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.), in a coma since July, died quietly last week at "Rosemont," his beloved country estate in Berryville. He was 79. A statesman of a vanishing breed, he stood for limited government, the sanctity of private property and a sound dollar. Throughout his life, he carried on a crusade against wild governmental spending and the intrusion of the federal leviathan into every human concern. "His causes," noted the Chicago *Tribune,* "did not prevail. . . . But when the smash and grab of present day opportunistic politics have, as we hope, run their discredited course, the example of Sen. Byrd will survive to guide the Republic to a fairer vision."

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Wage-Price Freeze?

LBJ Quietly Signs Order Covering Emergency Controls

By WALTER TROHAN

Without any fanfare, President Johnson signed and sealed an extraordinary executive order in the White House on October 11 which assigns wide emergency preparedness functions to the attorney general.

No explanation was given for ordering the preparation of national emergency plans and the development of war plans at this time. The far-reaching executive order was published in the *Federal Register*, October 13.

Under the order, it would be possible to institute wage and price controls, rationing, civil defense programs, alien controls, border controls and a host of wartime measures. The order does not proclaim a national emergency but paves the way for action on such a proclamation.

The executive order states that the attorney general shall provide advice

Rep. James B. Utt (R.-Calif.) questioned Administration about order but received denial.

with respect to "any emergency directive or procedure prepared by a department or agency as part of its emergency program." This could mean wage and price controls or rationing.

The attorney general is authorized to review legal procedures of federal agencies designed to enlist industrial support, judicial and legislative liaison, mobilize research facilities and fix security standards.

The order says that the attorney general shall, on request, assist in the planning and development of law enforcement personnel for civil defense emergency operations and supervise utilization of state and intrastate law enforcing agencies. The attorney general is empowered to develop plans and procedures for identification of the dead.

The order provides for the development of an Office of Emergency Planning, whose director would assume control for total national preparedness. The order says of emergency planning:

"Emergency plans and programs shall be developed as an integral part of the continuing activities of the Department of Justice on the basis that it will have the responsibility for the carrying out of such programs during an emergency. The attorney general shall be prepared to implement all appropriate plans developed under this order."

The order states that the President issued the "Executive Order 11310 assigning emergency preparedness functions to the attorney general" under authority vested in him under reorganization plan No. 1 of 1958. Experts in the Library of Congress said the President can proclaim an emergency because of the war in Viet Nam any moment. Experts said he can act under Korean War powers, which have not expired, as well as under the 1958 reorganization act.

Johnson has denied any intention of instituting wage and price controls. The White House had said that no executive order had been issued when questioned early in the week by Rep. James B. Utt (R.-Calif.). Then on October 13 the order signed on October 11 was published quietly in the government's official daily.

Possibly the President acted quietly because he did not wish to precipitate fear or hysteria of an expected "armed attack." For weeks there have been rumblings that he planned to institute wage and price controls and rationing after the election.

There also have been reports that some dramatic action would come in the Far East before the election. Possibly the President issued the executive order as a standby measure in case it might be needed after such a dramatic action.

It is curious that it was issued while there is no attorney general, the office being temporarily vacant until the successor to Nicholas Katzenbach is named. Katzenbach recently was named under secretary of state, but it is not known whether this appointment had any relationship to the executive order.

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Howe Buses His Own Son

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

A lot has been said recently about U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe II and how he wants to "bus" school children to different neighborhoods. Well, don't say he doesn't practice what he preaches.

For example, he has one school-age child. And Mr. Howe has "bused" his own son—out of a Washington, D.C., school where enrollment was 53 per cent white, 47 per cent Negro, to private Taft School, in Watertown, Conn., where tuition is $2,750 a year and there are eight or nine Negro students among 385 boys.

Mr. Howe has "freedom of choice" in sending his son to school, but he wants to deny that choice to millions of Americans who can't pay tuition of $2,750 a year and want their youngsters to go to public schools in their own neighborhoods, under local administration.

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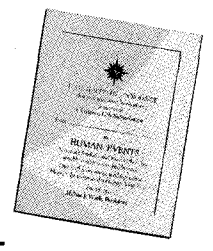

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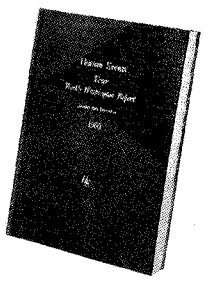

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the seventeenth installment of our regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. Each week until Election Day, November 8, *Human Events* will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Oregon's 4th District

Dellenbach vs. Porter

Former Rep. Charles Porter, described recently by the Communist *People's World* as an "outspoken liberal," is now making his third attempt to regain the House seat he lost in 1960.

DELLENBACH

"Outspoken liberal" is an understatement; "radical leftist" would be more accurate. During his two terms in Congress, Porter defended Cuban dictator Fidel Castro, denounced such U.S. allies as Nationalist China and applied, unsuccessfully, for a passport to visit Peking.

Ousted from Congress in 1960, Porter tried a comeback two years later and was defeated in the Democratic primary by Robert Duncan, then speaker of the Oregon House of Representatives. Duncan went on to win the general election and Porter challenged him again in 1964. Duncan, a strong anti-Communist, won by nearly 2 to 1.

When Duncan filed for the Senate earlier this year, Porter announced for his old seat and captured the nomination in a three-way race. Cognizant of his "image" as a far-out leftist, Porter now claims to have moderated his position on several issues.

In late May, however, Porter joined with identified Communists and other radicals to endorse Vietnik Robert Scheer in a California Democratic primary. In recent years he has been active in a San Francisco group dedicated to diplomatic and commercial relations with the Red Chinese.

Despite an edge in Democratic registration, Republican John R. Dellenbach is given an excellent chance to win the 4th District seat. Dellenbach, a moderate conservative, has called for reductions in government spending and an all-out campaign against inflation. Although Duncan received 64 per cent of the 4th District vote in 1964, Dellenbach can expect strong support from moderate Democrats disgusted with Porter's radical-left background. (Dellenbach for Congress: 883 Oak, Eugene, Ore.)

Ohio's 10th District

Miller vs. Moeller

Once again, columnist Drew Pearson has come to the aid of Rep. Walter Moeller (D.-Ohio). In 1962, Pearson devoted an entire column to the "modest, moderate, hard-working congressman," and charged, falsely, that he had been marked for political extinction by the American Medical Association.

MILLER

Despite the Pearson aid, Moeller was defeated. He then accepted a soft job with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, only to resign in 1964 to run for his old seat. Pearson again used his column to plug Moeller's candidacy and the former congressman was carried back to Washington on LBJ's coattails.

With polls now indicating Moeller trails his Republican opponent, former Lancaster Mayor Clarence Miller, Pearson has again come to his rescue. The columnist charged last week that the John Birch Society was contributing to the Miller campaign, an allegation termed "absolutely untrue" by leaders of the society.

In fact, a JBS "chapter leader" in Lancaster said that he had been solicited to contribute not to the Miller campaign, but to that of Rep. Moeller.

Miller has waged an energetic campaign, charging Moeller with consistent support of "irresponsible federal spending" that has contributed to the soaring cost of living. (Miller for Congress Committee: 156 W. Main Street, Lancaster.)

Connecticut's 6th District

Meskill vs. Grabowski

When Rep. Frank Kowalski announced at the 1962 Democratic State Convention that he would not seek re-election to his at-large seat, Democratic National Chairman John Bailey made a frightening discovery: His carefully balanced ticket now lacked a Polish-American.

MESKILL

Bailey, who rules Connecticut's Democratic party with an iron hand, vetoed a former congressman, several mayors and a number of legislators as replacements for Kowalski. Several boasted impressive qualifications, but none could claim the Polish ancestry that Bailey required of his nominee.

Bailey then tabbed Bernard Grabowski as Kowalski's successor. Grabowski had come to the convention not as a delegate but as a curiosity-seeker. An obscure lawyer from Bristol, he was nominated for Congress because he possessed a Polish name and a membership card in the Polish Legion of American Veterans.

Connecticut newspapers condemned the nomination as a blatant appeal to ethnic prejudice, but Grabowski was elected in the state-wide Democratic sweep. The Democratic-controlled state legislature then abolished the at-large seat and gave Grabowski his own district, which blankets the northern and western portions of the state.

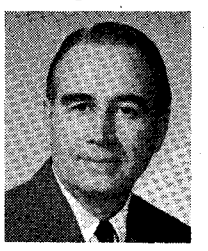
In 1964, Lyndon Johnson carried the 4th District by 78,919 votes, enabling Grabowski to defeat Republican Thomas Meskill by a margin of 34,393. Meskill, the only Republican ever elected mayor of New Britain, says "Grabowski won two years ago because of President Johnson—now I think he'll lose for the same reason."

Meskill is campaigning energetically and estimates that he will have met 20 per cent of the 6th District voters by election day. He has made "Great Society" inflation a major issue and hits Grabowski's down-the-line support of Administration "boondoggles," including the scandal-wracked "War on Poverty." In four years in Washington, Grabowski has cast but one vote for government economy, that in May 1964, according to a non-partisan research group. (Meskill for Congress Committee: 67 W. Main St., New Britain.)

Iowa's 6th District

Mayne vs. Greigg

"Rep. Stanley Greigg is like a card up the sleeve of a riverboat gambler," says Greigg's Republican opponent, Wiley Mayne. "And Lyndon Johnson pulls him out and plays him whenever he needs him."



MAYNE

One such occasion was May 10, when Administration lieutenants brought to the House floor a $20-million appropriation for the rent subsidy program. Greigg, who calls himself an "independent" Democrat, shouted "nay." But White House lobbyists then discovered they had fallen short and four congressmen who had voted "nay" were marched to the well of the House to change their vote to "present." Among the four turncoats: Stanley Greigg.

Greigg was elected to Congress in 1964, riding the coattails of Democratic Gov. Harold Hughes and President Johnson. Hughes' popularity has since slipped and Johnson's has plummeted.

Consider the 6th District's Palo Alto County, one of five in the nation that has been recorded on the winning side in every presidential election this century. LBJ carried the county 2 to 1 in 1964. A July poll showed that he would now lose it 3 to 2. Gregg's close identification with Johnson is certain to hurt as he campaigns for re-election.

Greigg's vote to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law has developed into a major issue in the campaign. Iowa is a right-to-work state and a 1965 poll indicated overwhelming support for retention of 14b.

Wiley Mayne, the GOP nominee, is a former FBI agent and former president of the Iowa Bar Association. He has waged a hard-hitting campaign on issues while Greigg talks only of the federal dollars he claims to have brought into the district. Overwhelming dissatisfaction with Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman has seriously injured Greigg's chances for re-election. (Mayne for Congress Committee: 231 Badger Bldg., Sioux City.)

New Hampshire Senate Race

Thyng vs. McIntyre

When Tom and Myrtle McIntyre celebrated their silver wedding anniversary earlier this year, they were honored at a unique party at the plush Washington home of lawyer-lobbyist "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran. Assorted "friends"—some of whom had never met the McIntyres — paid $100 a head to honor New Hampshire's junior senator.

THYNG

The majority of those present were lobbyists, anxious to curry McIntyre's favor. "Testimonials are almost as old as prostitution," a McIntyre aide explained to the Washington *Star*.

McIntyre is a political accident who won election to the Senate in 1962 as the result of a monumental split in New Hampshire's Republican party. In his four years he has served as an errand boy for Big Labor, winning a 95 per cent rating from the Committee on Political Education.

Republican nominee Harrison R. Thyng is hitting hard at McIntyre's "rubber stamp" voting record. The 48-year-old Thyng, a retired Air Force brigadier general, has also made Viet Nam a central issue. Defense Secretary McNamara, he says, has studiously refused to win the war and has "dangerously weakened" the national defense by cutting back on aircraft and missile development.

Thyng is a veteran of 27 years in the Air Force. A fighter pilot in Korea, he qualified as a "triple ace," downing 15 enemy planes. He has qualified as an "ace" in both propeller and jet aircraft, something only six men in the world can claim.

Thyng, an outspoken conservative, has assailed "Great Society" inflation, reckless spending and soaring crime. He is, however, the target of intra-party sniping from liberal leaders of the New Hampshire GOP. (Thyng for Senate headquarters: 831 Elm Street, Manchester.)

New Jersey's 3rd District

Coleman vs. Howard

Until he ran for Congress in 1964, James Howard's only campaigning had been confined to the Monmouth County (N. J.) Education Association and the Shark River Yacht Club. Howard had been elected president of the teachers' group and commodore of the yacht club.

COLEMAN

Howard, an acting principal in the Wall Township school system, ran for Congress because no other Democrat would. The 3rd District had been a Republican bastion for many years and Rep. James Auchincloss won with 58 per cent of the vote in 1962. When Auchincloss announced his retirement two years later, Republicans nominated Marcus Daly and his election was considered a foregone conclusion.

On the morning of November 4, stunned Republicans discovered they had lost the House seat they had occupied so long. Lyndon Johnson had carried the district by 44,854 votes and carried Howard into Congress by a paper-thin margin of 1,740 votes.

Howard came to Washington and immediately demonstrated his gratitude. According to the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly*, he has yet to oppose

(Continued on next page)

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the White House on a single piece of major legislation.

Republican James Coleman Jr. is hitting hard at this "rubber stamp" voting record as he campaigns for the 3rd District seat. Coleman, a member of the New Jersey State Assembly, had denounced Howard's undeviating support of "Great Society" projects that feed the fires of inflation.

The high cost of living is, without doubt, the major issue in the campaign. Only last week an association of Monmouth County housewives wrote President Johnson demanding the Administration act to curb "outrageous" food prices.

Redistricting by the Democratic state legislature has removed some Republican strongholds from the district but Coleman is given an excellent chance for victory. A far-left "peace" candidate, Martin Watkins, should drain some Democratic votes from Howard. (Coleman for Congress Committee: 1115 5th Ave., Asbury Park, N.J.)

Washington's 5th District

Powers vs. Foley

Two years ago, Thomas Foley was carried into Congress on the coattails of Lyndon Johnson. Not surprisingly, young Foley supported the President on 92 per cent of the major rollcalls during his first year in Washington.

POWERS

But the political winds soon changed and Foley discovered it was no longer fashionable to give the Administration knee-jerk support. More and more frequently, Foley voted against the Administration and his support of the President dropped off to 56 per cent.

Republican Dorothy Powers, who is campaigning energetically for the 5th District seat, notes that Foley backed the Administration when it counted—on repeal of 14b, "liberalization" of House Rules, creation of the Department of Urban Development, the "War on Poverty," public works, federal power.

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education reports that he cast 12 of 13 "pro-labor" votes.

Mrs. Powers is a formidable campaigner who easily captured the GOP nomination. A prize-winning columnist for the Spokane *Spokesman-Review,* she is widely known through the district. One of the few women ever to win journalism's coveted Ernie Pyle Memorial Award, Mrs. Powers has covered the trouble spots of Europe, Asia and Latin America. In Spokane, she has had herself confined to a mental hospital, a city jail and a state penitentiary while chasing down stories.

The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly,* terming Mrs. Powers "a vigorous conservative" gives her an excellent chance of unseating Foley. The publication notes that Mrs. Powers has directed her campaign fire at the "Great Society" and has succeeded in uniting the feuding factions of the 5th District GOP. (Powers for Congress Committee: West 420 Riverside, Spokane.)

Arizona's 2nd District

McGinnis vs. Udall

The experts say that Rep. Morris Udall (D.-Ariz.) is assured of reelection. Victorious in a 1961 election to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of his brother Stewart, "Mo" was reelected in 1962 and 1964 with 58 per cent of the vote.

McGINNIS

But Udall is taking nothing for granted. He has raised a political war chest of considerable proportions to finance his campaign against Republican G. Alfred McGinnis, Tucson businessman. Thirty thousand dollars was raised at a single "testimonial" and other funds have been garnered in Arizona and Washington.

McGinnis is appealing for the votes of Mexican-Americans who traditionally vote Democratic. Of field hands, he asks a series of direct questions: "Did you have meat on your table last night? Will you have it tonight? Can you afford it tomorrow night?"

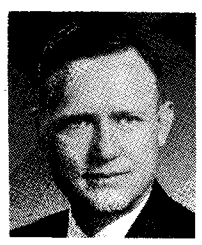
"In too many cases," McGinnis relates, "the field hand answers, 'Señor McGinnis, I can hardly buy frijoles any more.' Suddenly this guy is an authority on economics and inflation. Six months ago, he may not have cared less—but now, in the face of rising prices and a lagging economy, he is faced with the problem of putting his children to bed with empty bellies. I then ask him for his vote and a prayer, and he says, "¡Si! I vote for you, I pray for you."

McGinnis, who calls himself a "Bob Taft Republican," is critical of Udall's ultra-liberal voting record (ADA rating: 92, ACA rating: 8). He notes that Udall has refused to sign the annual declaration of the Committee of One Million opposing appeasement of Red China. (McGinnis for Congress Committee: 44 E. Broadway, Tucson.)

Idaho's 1st District

McClure vs. White

Redistricting and a strong Republican opponent have placed Rep. Compton I. White (D.-Idaho) in electoral jeopardy as he seeks a third term in Congress. The son of a former eight-term representative, White traded on the family name and captured the 1st District seat by a narrow margin in 1962.



McCLURE

Two years later his winning margin slipped from 53 per cent to 51.7, his plurality of 3,735 largely attributable to President Johnson, who carried the district by 15,265 votes. White faced a difficult 1966 campaign even before the Idaho legislature, under pressure from the courts, reapportioned the state's two congressional districts.

The legislature moved the populous GOP stronghold of Ada County into the 1st District and made White's reelection even more doubtful.

Republicans have nominated state Sen. James McClure to oppose White. McClure is an outspoken conservative who has labeled White an "LBJ rubber stamp" on issues affecting the district. "Faced with a choice between the Idaho farmer and the Johnson-Freeman program," he says, "Congressman White's record will show he had chosen 'Big Daddy' Johnson nearly every time."

White is receiving heavy support from organized labor, which is not surprising in view of the fact that the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education gives him a career rating of 91 per cent.

McClure, who says it is imperative to "stem the tide of socialism that is sweeping this country," served as assistant majority leader of the Idaho State Senate during the last session of the legislature. He was endorsed for the 1st District nomination by every Republican who served with him in the senate. (McClure for Congress Committee: P.O. Box 196, Payette, Idaho 83661.)

Arizona's 3rd District

Steiger vs. Senner

Three times Arizona voters have considered the right-to-work provision of their state constitution. Three times they have given overwhelming support to voluntary unionism and public opinion polls indicate that right-to-work is even more popular today than it was in 1952, when 63 per cent of the state's voters backed the principle.

STEIGER

Rep. Morris Udall (D.-Ariz.) acknowledged the public's support of right-to-work when he announced last year that he opposed the Administration effort to repeal section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. But Democratic colleague George Senner, who represents the sprawling 3rd Congressional District, paid no heed to the oft-expressed wishes of his constituents.

On July 28, 1965, Senner bowed to the demands of Big Labor and voted to repeal 14b. It is a vote that Senner may well live to rue.

In 1964 Senner was hard-pressed to defeat Republican Sam Steiger, winning a second term by less than 1,800 votes. Court-ordered reapportionment has since transferred 80,000 voters from populous Maricopa County into the 3rd District and Steiger is expected to run strongly among them. (Steiger for Congress Committee: 3323 West Indian School Rd., Phoenix.)

Steiger is hitting hard at Senner's vote on 14b and his consistent support of Administration boondoggles, including the "War on Poverty," rent subsidies and aid to leftist "neutrals." Not surprisingly, Senner has received heavy support from organized labor (COPE reports he has yet to cast an "anti-labor" vote in two terms in Congress.)

Colorado's 2nd District

Brotzman vs. McVicker

A political rematch has been scheduled for Colorado's 2nd Congressional District, where Democrat Roy McVicker defeated Republican Donald Brotzman in 1964. Actually, it was not McVicker, but Lyndon Johnson who unseated the GOP incumbent.

BROTZMAN

LBJ swept the district by more than 40,000 votes, carrying in his congressional running mate by a margin of 2,678. Two years later, McVicker is fighting for his political life.

Brotzman has concentrated on the 1966 campaign since Nov. 4, 1964. He has rebuilt the Republican organization and delivered hundreds of speeches before groups large and small. The GOP nominee has made runaway inflation a central theme of his campaign, noting that McVicker has consistently supported federal programs that have led to higher consumer prices.

McVicker tacitly acknowledged a housewives' rebellion when he recently unveiled what he termed a "positive program to combat high prices."

But McVicker's "cure" for soaring food prices (abolition of supermarket trading stamps and an investigation of pricing practices by the Federal Trade Commission) completely overlooks the cause-and-effect relationship of federal deficit spending and rampant inflation.

While McVicker claims to support a reduction in federal spending, the record hardly bears him out. National Associated Businessmen, Inc., reports that he supported economy-in-government on but 20 per cent of the 89th Congress rollcalls. (Brotzman, in contrast, received a 100 per cent rating from the NAB during the 88th Congress.)

Brotzman is a staunch anti-Communist who has favored a tough stand against Communist aggression. McVicker has refused to sign the annual declaration of the Committee of One Million against Red China's recognition. (Brotzman for Congress Committee: 1679 Wadsworth, Lakewood, Colo.).

Iowa's 3rd District

Gross vs. Touchae

When Rep. Clare Hoffman (R.-Mich.) retired in 1962, an elated liberal colleague proclaimed that the "know-nothing party" was down to its last member. Four years later, an all-out effort is under way to knock off the surviving "know-nothing," Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa).

GROSS

Gross and Hoffman waged unrelenting war on government waste, under Democratic and Republican Administrations. No colleague can match Gross when it comes to knowledge of the myriad bills that come to the House floor. And no one fights harder in the taxpayer's behalf.

Among his colleagues, Gross is less than popular. He has consistently fought congressional pay raises, has regularly denounced junketeers in both parties and has denounced the "pork barrel" projects so dear to members on both sides of the aisle. But Gross has won the grudging respect of the House leadership. Democratic Whip Carl Albert concedes that Gross is a "symbol of economy and has undoubtedly saved many millions of dollars over the years."

Iowa Democrats came within 419 votes of unseating Gross in the Johnson landslide of 1964. (He was the only member of Iowa's five-man Republican delegation to survive the sweep.) Two years later, 3rd District Democrats have nominated Lawrence A. Touchae, a personable former Waterloo mayor, as Gross' opponent.

Liberal Touchae is campaigning hard, insisting that "Gross is out of touch with the district—he doesn't vote the way they feel." He criticizes, for instance, Gross' vote against the Administration farm bill. The outspoken Gross replies that he opposed the bill because it gave Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman the power to dump surpluses and lower farm prices. (Gross for Congress Committee: Parkersburg, Iowa)

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The Ripon Society: Republican 'Pseudo-Event'

By M. STANTON EVANS

In the continuing effort to convince the Republican party it should become an outpost of Liberalism, various columnists, commentators and magazines have paraded a strange assortment of spokesmen before the nation as "authentic" voices of the GOP.

In the 1940s it was Wendell Willkie and "one world." In the 1950s it was Arthur Larson and "modern Republicanism." In the 1960s it has been, principally, Nelson Rockefeller and money, with John Lindsay chafing impatiently in the wings. And always, of course, there has been Harold Stassen.

But if these "Republican" spokesmen have seemed a little curious, a minuscule organization called "the Ripon Society" is curiouser still.

The Ripon Society is a self-styled agglomeration of "constructive" Republicans, drawn from "thinking young people" in "the business, professional and academic communities."

The group is a shoe-string enterprise which operates from a post office box in Cambridge, Mass., boasts little by way of permanent staff and has no appreciable leverage within the national Republican party—a fact which, although contrary to its claims about the nature of Republican opinion, it occasionally confesses.

At this writing Ripon lays claim to four chapters—Harvard, Yale, New York City and southern California. The membership consists of a small squadron of academicians, lightly seasoned with a handful of staffers for East Coast-style Republican legislators. It is, quite clearly, a letterhead organization of a sort familiar on most sides of political questions in America.

Why Do Media Listen?

That the Ripon Society is a hole-in-corner oddment of national politics is suggested by a number of things, the most striking of which, perhaps, is this: While claiming to speak for "the Republican majority," the group's chief policy pronouncement in recent months has been a suggestion that the United States relax its resistance to U.N. membership for Red China—a stand opposed not only by the overwhelming majority of Republicans, but by most Democrats and by the nation at large.

If the Democrats will not seize the initiative on this vital issue, Ripon states, "then the responsibility to do so falls upon the Republican party." The society has apparently confused the duties and sentiments of the Republican party with the marching orders of Americans for Democratic Action.

Despite its peculiar views and humdrum credentials, the Ripon Society has become relatively famous. It needs only to crank up its mimeograph machines to have its thoughts carried by the mass media into every corner of America.

When it declaims against Barry Goldwater, its words are emblazoned on front pages across the country; when a TV network wants "expert" analysis on an election, it calls on Ripon; when the group lobs its dead cat about China onto the nation's front porch, the media pop to respectful attention. And now a reputable publishing house is engaged in mass distribution of a Riponian potboiler entitled *From Disaster to Distinction* (Pocket Books: $1).

This wholesale dissemination of "Republican" ideas which bear no resemblance to anything Republican is, at first glance, difficult to understand. Its significance becomes clear, however, if we note that Ripon is an almost perfect

George Gilder (left) and Bruce Chapman published the now-defunct Advance magazine. Gilder now is with the New Leader; Chapman has moved to Washington State.

example of a political style having nothing to do with the actual world in which most of us go about our business. It belongs to that class of things described by Prof. Daniel Boorstin as "pseudo-events"—make believe happenings invented for the benefit of the communications media.

The Ripon Society is in the same category as a staged campaign photograph, a televised mock-up of "presidential decision-making," or a "demonstration" fabricated for the TV cameras.

Ripon's ideas get publicized because they are invented to be publicized. Were it not for the fact that the Liberal media find in them a convenient pretext for disparaging conservatism, they would not be decocted in the first place.

Ripon pronouncements are covered in the New York *Times* while the views of an official Republican group like the GOP Congressional Committee are ignored for the simple reason that Ripon suits the media conception of what the Republican party ought to be, and the Congressional Committee does not.

The society's self-appointed mission is to prove that the Republican party is not, should not be, and cannot be conservative ("disaster"); that the *beau ideal* of Republican sagacity is John Lindsay ("distinction"); and that the GOP must in all respects make itself as Liberal, or if possible more Liberal, than the Democrats.

It argues that Barry Goldwater's 1964 defeat proved conservatives cannot win national elections, and that the GOP must hereafter do anything and everything to capture the ethnic voting blocs of the big cities.

All of this is offered as pious counsel for the salvation of the Republican party. A somewhat different motive, however, now and then comes looming through the rhetorical fustian. On the one hand Ripon says Republicans must forget about limited government and private property in order to chase down votes with ever more punitive "civil rights" bills, simply as a matter of hard-headed politics. Never mind, Ripon says, about outmoded principles; we have got to win elections. Yet the group recoils in horror at any suggestion that the GOP can in fact win elections by hanging onto its principles rather than abandoning them.

Thus the fact that conservative Southern Republicans have been elected in increasing numbers in recent years is viewed by Ripon as nothing short of repulsive. Riponers have equal contempt for the conservative congressmen of the West and Midwest, the Republican leadership of the House, and such Republicans as Ronald Reagan.

It becomes apparent that, while Ripon claims to be frightened of conservative Republicans who lose, its real fear is of conservative Republicans who win. Its interest is not to save the GOP by injecting it with Liberalism; it is to save Liberalism by injecting it with the GOP.

An interesting demonstration of this fact is the campaign of Massachusetts Atty. Gen. Edward Brooke, a Republican candidate for the Senate who has publicly solicited the backing of Americans for Democratic Action. Brooke's candidacy prompted newspaper columnist Carl Rowan, a former official of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, to remark that leftward forces in Massachusetts "regard Brooke as one of their own, infiltrating the enemy camp—and making the enemy like it. *They regard the Massachusetts Senate race as a contest to see whether an ideological Democrat can go all the way to the top in a Republican masquerade.*" (Italics added.) It would be impossible, it seems, to state the matter more clearly than that. (The director of Brooke's campaign research staff turns out to be none other than—the president of the Ripon Society.)

The dedication of the Riponers to the well-being of the Republican party is

Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) is an important Ripon contact in the GOP. Scott has spent much time looking for conservatives under every bed, and, to his distress, finding them.

called further into question in an informative discussion of the group published by the American Conservative Union (1010 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.; 25¢ single copy, five for $1).

The ACU report notes that Ripon's favorite Republicans in Congress also happen to be those Republicans who refuse to support their party's position on legislative issues—in many cases supplying the Democrats with the votes they need to win on closely divided rollcalls.

"Their No. 1 hero in the Republican party," says the report, "is Mayor John Lindsay of New York. As a congressman, John Lindsay supported his party's congressional leadership . . . in the 89th Congress only 43 per cent of the time. . . . The Ripon Society also approves of Senators Case of New Jersey, Javits of New York, Scott of Pennsylvania, and Kuchel of California, all of whom support their party's leadership in the Senate less than 50 per cent of the time. Case's and Javits' unity scores are below 30 per cent."

Lindsay, of course, also torpedoed the Republican party in New York, putting Democrats and Liberals on his mayoralty ticket, while Ripon favorites Javits, Case, Kenneth Keating and George Romney all openly dumped the 1964 GOP presidential candidate.

The ACU paper points out that Ripon is essentially a reincarnation of the defunct Liberal Republican magazine, *Advance,* launched in 1960 as a vehicle for Rockefeller-style views in the GOP and reportedly financed by funds made available through Gov. Rockefeller's banker brother, David. The *Advance* stock-in-trade was blasting the Republican leadership of Congress while promoting such leftward GOPers as Rockefeller, Lindsay and Javits. Publishers of this magazine were Bruce Chapman, who subsequently went to work for the New York *Herald - Tribune,* and George Gilder, now an associate editor of *The New Leader,* a Socialistic magazine.

Advance Supporters

The ACU report lists several *Advance* contributors and backers still prominent in Liberal Republican circles. Among them:

- John Saloma, who wrote regularly for *Advance* and is now on Brooke's campaign staff and president of Ripon.
- Thomas Petri, a former editor of *Advance* and editor of the Ripon Society book mentioned above.
- John Loeb Jr., sponsor of a fund-raising dinner for *Advance,* who proved his fealty to the GOP by helping form a committee boosting Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and contributing $3,000 to the Democrats.
- Theodore Kupferman, who succeeded to John Lindsay's seat in Congress from New York's 17th District.
- John Wells, Jacob Javits' 1962 campaign manager and editor of a book of Thomas Dewey's speeches, who addressed a meeting of the Ripon group in New York.

Another important Ripon contact is Pennsylvania Sen. Hugh Scott, who has written the foreword to the group's new book. Scott refers to the Ripon volume, which flays the congressional leadership of the Republican party, as "this excellent book."

Scott's own exemplification of Ripon's stated purposes – encouragement of "idealism" and youthful participation in the Republican party—may be seen in his effort to purge those who disagree with him from the national Young Republicans and to stage a top-down Liberal take-over of this organization, and his announcement that dossiers were being kept on young conservatives to be used against them if they ran for public office.

Pennsylvania's junior senator has indeed set an excellent example of "ideal-

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Mr. Evans, a former managing editor of Human Events, *has been editor of the Indianapolis* News *since 1960, and a frequent contributor to many national magazines. He is the author of several books, including* Revolt on the Campus *and* The Liberal Establishment. *His latest,* The Politics of Surrender, *is being published this month by Devin-Adair.*

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ism" in political conduct. No doubt the starry-eyed Riponers have found the demonstration edifying.

Since Ripon is more or less openly speaking for the Lindsay-Javits-Scott wing of the GOP, its treatment of Goldwater's 1964 defeat is itself an interesting study in political ethics. *From Disaster to Distinction* is chiefly a rehash of the '64 election, reciting in lip-smacking detail the electoral landslide that exalted Lyndon Johnson, buried Goldwater, and pulled numerous other Republicans down to defeat.

The things that killed Goldwater, Ripon elaborately points out, were the nuclear and Social Security issues, and the idea that Goldwater was an "extremist." His campaign, the book says, "came to appear" immoral: "The impression" was abroad that he was a radical, one of the extremists "everyone had been hearing about," a fount of muddle-headedness which voters "would come to regard" as typical.

All of which ignores the question of *who* labored overtime to tag Goldwater as nuclear-happy, Social-Security-abolishing, extremist, etc. And the answer to that, of course, is: The Ripon Society itself, its Liberal GOP heroes and the ever-cooperative media.

Strong Self-Indictment

As Theodore White puts it, "Rockefeller and Scranton had drawn up the indictment, Lyndon Johnson was the prosecutor. Goldwater was cast as defendant. . . ." The image of Goldwater as a bomb-crazed maniac, White says at another point,"had been fastened on him first by Rockefeller, then by Scranton, then by Johnson. . . ." As a result, "Goldwater was running not only against Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic record, but against fear itself."

Now those who labored so long to implant this gut-fear of the Republican candidate, who vilified Goldwater with every epithet at their command and who refused to support the party as the resulting hysteria engulfed it, cite the fact that Goldwater was mistrusted as proof that conservatism is unpopular! Which is rather like hearing the assassin reproach his victim with the fact that he is dead.

Whatever the shortcomings of the Goldwater campaign, the "impressions" the Riponers sanctimoniously refer to are an indictment, not of the senator, but of themselves.

As for the disastrous consequences of the Goldwater race, the ACU report offers an interesting rebuttal. The report notes that the GOP lost elections steadily and disastrously for more than two decades under Liberal control. In 1964, ACU observes, the GOP lost 38 seats in Congress and two in the Senate, while making a net gain of one governor. But in 1948, when none other than Hugh Scott was Republican national chairman, the Republican party lost 75 seats in the House, nine seats in the Senate, and seven governorships. In 1958, with Liberal Republican Meade Alcorn as national chairman, the GOP lost 48 House seats, 13 Senate seats and five governorships. "If a 'moderate' party image is expected to help Republicans," ACU asks, "why did the party consistently lose elections during the years when the party's national machinery was dominated by GOP Liberals?"

In trying to prove that conservative Republicans are losers and Liberal Republicans are winners, Ripon tosses around a great many statistics concerning various state and local races in 1964. It would be necessary to do a case-by-case check to determine the over-all accuracy of the Ripon presentation; but the present writer has viewed at first hand one set of elections Ripon has sought to analyze—those in Indiana—and can testify that the group's conclusions are 180 degrees off.

The Indiana elections of 1964 featured a "moderate" Republican candidate for governor, Richard Ristine, a conservative Republican candidate for senator, D. Russell Bontrager, and numerous conservative congressional candidates. In Ripon's analysis, Bontrager lost because he was too conservative, and "moderate" Ristine lost because he was dragged down by Goldwater and conservative animosity.

The idea, apparently, was that if Ristine could have run on his own merits, he would have done well, whereas Bontrager was a born loser because of his affinity to the Goldwater cause. As anyone present in Indiana during the election could tell the Ripon spokesmen, these conclusions have no basis either in logic or the election figures.

If the arguments about Ristine's strength and Bontrager's weakness were right, it should follow that Ristine would have done better than his running mate. The opposite was the case. Ristine lost by 263,437 votes, Bontrager by 186,986. Goldwater, who supposedly "dragged" Ristine down, lost by 259,730. In the state's largest industrial county, where his "moderation" should have helped him most, Ristine lost by 23,867 votes; Bontrager lost by only 4,796; Goldwater by 9,104; and Goldwater backer Don Tabbert, running for Congress, by less than 3,000.

If anything can be read into those figures about the relative strength of Liberal and conservative GOP candidates, it is obviously the reverse of what Ripon intends.

The philosophy Ripon seeks to impose upon the GOP in place of traditional Republicanism consists of adopting the Liberal program of the Democrats wholesale, while disagreeing with certain marginal details and promising to administer things better. This cold collation is then served up as "new," "bold," and "challenging."

The *Disaster* book says: "What is the Republican future in the 'Great Society'?

Gov. George Romney (left) and Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.) are two of the liberal Republicans who walked out on the party in 1964.

There is *no* future in calling for wholesale repeal of major items of 'Great Society' legislation. Certainly there is room for responsible criticism of the *administrative* [my italics] failures. But progressive Republicans must themselves join in the search for sensible and efficient answers. The American people sense that the 'War on Poverty,' crime, disease, illness and illiteracy is moving in the right direction."

The Riponers more or less admit they are at one with the Johnson Administration and its coterie of ADAers. "The fact that we may meet on common ground," they say, "is not 'me-tooism.' *It is time to put away the tired old notion that to be real Republicans we must be as different as possible from our opponents!.* . . If we let the Democrats pre-empt the good positions on every issue while we simply react—then we are doomed to continuing futility." (Italics added.)

Political Double-Talk

The GOP, in short, should grab such "good positions" as augmented welfarism, more big government and admitting Red China to the United Nations before the Democrats can get this valuable territory staked out. That the Riponers think this is politically advantageous is as clear as it is mistaken; but how they seek to justify it as a matter of "idealism" is another question.

When they try to give the position a varnish of theoretical sophistication, the result sounds like a caricature of political double-talk.

Thus we find the authors of the *Disaster* book declaiming:

" . . . we can make no more important statement than this: *For Republicans, the real opportunities lie BEYOND the issue of the 'welfare state.'* The technological revolution will afford Republicans new opportunities for humane and efficient reform in government bureaucracy and the public services. . . .

" . . . [Republicans] must leave behind the meaningless arguments of conservatism versus liberalism, public versus private, business versus labor, hard line versus soft line, and come to terms with the really new challenges. . . .

"The Republican party has yet to find the men and women who can speak to the political concerns of the new America. We need men and women who are not afraid to innovate, to make the bold move, the dramatic appeal. The Republican party needs, in short, the *initiative to leadership.*" (Italics in original.)

And: "Is the 'flaming moderate' just a joke, or does he represent a viable political mood? Can we be emotional about a politics so pluralistic, so relative, so realistic in defining the available range for maneuver? . . . Tempered with an honest uncertainty, we must be ever willing to enter upon yet another great crusade. We must learn to be as excited about open-mindedness as we once were about final answers, as dedicated to partial solutions as we have been to panaceas."

These vacuities would be painful enough were they merely preliminary to something else; but in the Ripon handbook they aren't preliminary. "The initiative to leadership" up there "beyond the welfare state," with "open-mindedness" about the "available range of maneuver," is, philosophically speaking, the whole show. Not, for "thinking young people," a very impressive performance.

(It is perhaps indicative of something that, when these deep thinkers try to throw in a little intellectual class, they manage to botch things up. In an effort to give the *Disaster* manuscript some tone, they quote one of the most celebrated couplets in English literature, but get both lines wrong and misspell the poet's name. Maybe the professors should stick to the classroom until they can get the academic stuff straightened out.*)

Paradoxically, the current line in Ripon circles should prove encouraging to conservatives. Having struggled for the past six years against traditional Republicans, the *Advance* and Ripon set apparently feel they have made little headway. Discussing the recent Governors' Conference in Los Angeles, for example, the Riponers opine that all the real action and excitement was on the conservative side of things, centering principally on Ronald Reagan. They conclude that, unless something drastic is done, "the convention of 1968, true to Barry Goldwater's prediction, [will] look very much like San Francisco in 1964." A similar conclusion comes from the Ripon-associated Council of Republican Organizations.

The *Disaster* book is more emphatic still. "The very *fact* of a Goldwater nomination," it says, "produced long-term changes in the Republican party, most of which strengthened the hand of the 'conservatives' for the post-November leadership struggle . . . the . . . election results will mean increased voting strength for Southern Republicans in the Republican National Committee, the Young Republican national convention, and ultimately the national convention of 1968."

Even more despairing for the Liberals is the book's discussion of "moderate" efforts to take over the GOP congressional leadership.

The job was admittedly difficult, the authors say, in view of "the conservative weighting of the House Republicans." But the moderates, according to Ripon, fumbled away even the slight resources they possessed. They wound up with such unsatisfactory people in power as Gerald Ford, Melvin Laird, Leslie Arends and John Rhodes:

Demoralized Moderates

"When the smoke of battle had cleared, the moderates had nothing!. . . The Ford lieutenants decided they didn't need any agreements with the moderate forces. . . . As for conference chairmanship [won by the conservative Laird] the ['moderates'] fielded a last-minute candidate, Congressman Peter Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. His near miss only underlined how ineffectively the moderates were using the leverage they had. The final blow came when Frelinghuysen, Ford's choice for minority whip, was defeated by incumbent Leslie Arends of Illinois in a stunning reversal for the new leader. So demoralized were the moderates that there was not even token opposition to the election of John Rhodes of Arizona, a top Goldwater leader in the House, to the chairmanship of the House Republican Policy Committee."

Ripon summarizes things by complaining that the new Republican leadership, across the board, "did not include *one* new moderate or Liberal Republican face. In fact, the Goldwater conservatives had made important gains in the House. With Laird in control of the conference, and Rhodes as head of the Policy Committee, they had an even stronger power base than they had had prior to November. They would find it very useful in 1966 and 1968."

So, according to Ripon, the conservatives today are stronger in the Republican party than ever before—a verdict confirmed by primary contests this year in California, New York, Idaho, Kentucky, Ohio, *etc.*

Which leaves us with only one question: If "the Republican majority" is *Liberal*, how can such things be? Perhaps Ripon's next book will address itself to that interesting subject.

** The couplet is the opening of Andrew Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress." Ripon quotes it: "Had we world enough and time, Your coyness, Lady, were no crime." Marvell's version was: "Had we but world enough and time, This coyness, Lady, were no crime." The Ripon version doesn't even scan. Ripon finishes off this touch of erudition by spelling the poet's name "Marvel," apparently mistaking the tutor for the Captain.*

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Does IRS Grant Tax Exemption to Law-Defying Unions?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Being commissioner of internal revenue is hardly a job for a man who likes peace and quiet. But it seems to me that Sheldon Cohen is looking for controversy when he argues that labor unions involved in illegal political activity are entitled to retain their tax-exempt status. Commissioner Cohen does not quite put it that way—but clear implications of a letter written by Audit Division Director S. B. Wolfe sustain the point.

Mr. Wolfe, in answering a complaint of the National Right-to-Work Committee against what it considers the abuse of labor's tax exemption (see *Human Events*, October 1, page 10), states flatly that whereas other organizations in that category cannot participate in political activity, "there is no such proscription with respect to a labor organization otherwise qualifying for exemption from federal income tax under section 501(c)(5)."

There might be some who question this interpretation, but accepting Mr. Wolfe's interpretation as valid, it must be assumed that he means legitimate political activity. I am sure he would not argue that any organization in any category could keep its tax exemption if it was violating the law. The law breaker, certainly, cannot be rewarded by the federal government—at least not openly.

The legitimacy of labor's political action is therefore directly to the point—and this is clearly recognized in the complaint to IRS of Reed Larson, who runs the Right-to-Work Committee. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act is very clear in this regard. It states that labor unions cannot use union dues or assessments on the membership for political activity. Every nickel spent to further the election of a federal candidate must be a free contribution from the members.

Recognizing the thrust of this statute, the AFL-CIO set up its Committee on Political Education (COPE), which is presumably financed by voluntary contributions. However, international unions and their locals have frequently used regular union funds, both openly and secretly, for political use. It was to this that Mr. Larson and the Right-to-Work Committee strenuously objected—as I have over the years.

If this sounds like a wild charge, let me repeat for the benefit of IRS what should be well known. In 1961, for example, the International Association of Machinists—the group which gave us the long airlines strike—admitted—in fact, stipulated—in court that compulsory dues collected from its members had been used to help elect John F. Kennedy to the presidency. Much publicity has also been given to a 5-cents-a-member assessment against the AFL-CIO's 13 million members for use in the current election campaign.

The full-time use of union officials by candidates—*while these officials* draw full pay from their locals—is a common practice, and this, too, is in violation of the statute. As a matter of fact, years ago when I was the publicity director for a large labor union in New York City, I saw this being done at first hand.

Perhaps IRS Commissioner Sheldon Cohen wants to stay on the right side of Big Labor—at least until after the elections.

That the Justice Department has never moved against these practices speaks volumes. But the record has been made in numerous litigations and is available to the Internal Revenue Service.

The admission by the IAM, in regular court proceedings, that it was violating the Corrupt Practices Act should have been sufficient cause for withdrawing its tax exemption. At the very least, it should have been prima-facie evidence of sufficient gravity for the IRS to hold hearings on the matter.

To quote the Internal Revenue statute, in answer to the Larson complaint, was either naive or disingenuous. A more careful government official than Mr. Wolfe would have thanked Mr. Larson and told him that the matter was "under study." That's the way things are usually done in Washington.

I can see why, with a tough election coming up, Commissioner Cohen and the Internal Revenue Service would want to stay out of the line of fire. But neither he nor it can in conscience brush aside a legitimate complaint backed up by so much incontrovertible evidence.

Is Mr. Wolfe of the Audit Division saying that even though some unions are in violation of the Corrupt Practices Act, he is helpless to act—or even to investigate? This would be a novel interpretation of IRS regulations—and one which could open a real can of worms for the nation's tax-collecting agency.

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Mao Tops Red Chinese Hit Parade

From the Indianapolis *Star*

While we do not necessarily hold with the musical tastes of the 'teen set or their adulation of the Beatles and their imitators, it is refreshing to note that liking music of this type represents freedom of choice and is vastly different from what passes for the "in" crowd in Red China.

There, it seems, in an effort to demonstrate that all's right when it isn't, the Reds have come out with their version of the top 10 songs.

These include such swinging numbers as (honest) "The Works of Chairman Mao Shine with Golden Rays," "The Hearts of Shepherds and the Ideas of Mao Tse-tung Are Closely Related," "Chairman Mao Is Dearer Than Father and Mother to Us," and "Best of All We Like to Read Works by Chairman Mao."

How would you like to try those *on your electric guitar?*

□ □ □

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President Johnson Should Know All About Fear

By BARRY GOLDWATER

This is an appropriate season in which to nominate Lyndon B. Johnson as Scarecrow of the Year.

He has just had the gall to call the current Republican campaign a campaign of fear. He says Republicans try to scare people.

I hope that every American who heard him blandly say this will remember Lyndon Johnson's own campaign in 1964. It was the political horror story of the century. One of Mr. Johnson's main TV commercials showed a little girl being blown to bits by an atom bomb. And he talks about Republicans trying to scare people.

One of his main campaign themes was that if you let those trigger-happy Republicans get into office they might do such horrible things as bomb North Viet Nam. And that, he tried to scare everyone into believing, might be the end of the world.

Well, Lyndon Johnson has been bombing North Viet Nam for some time. The way he has been doing it hasn't even meant the end of the war, much less the world. But still he has the unmitigated nerve to say that Republicans try to scare people.

Another Johnson scare tactic that surely helped him win in 1964 was a TV commercial showing a Social Security card being torn up. There was no truth behind his implication that Republicans were against Social Security, but he successfully scared millions of people anyway. And now Lyndon Johnson's inflationary policies are slowly leeching the value out of Social Security payments. His wild spending schemes have added so many burdens to Social Security that its financial base as well as the base of private pension plans is seriously threatened.

But this same Lyndon Johnson has the brass to get up in front of the American people and talk about fear. He really must have a low opinion of our memory.

But there also are current reasons for nominating him as Scarecrow of the Year.

Speaking of fear campaigns: Lyndon Johnson, flapping his wild spending schemes, obviously has scared the business, industrial and financial community into a period of virtual paralysis, thus affecting all of us, making money hard to get, tightening up on jobs and seriously clouding the future for every working man and woman.

And then there is Lyndon Johnson flapping his arms and frightening farmers, union members and small businessmen with increasing red tape, hints of new wage and price controls and so forth.

And then there is Lyndon Johnson flapping his arms and flying off to the Far East where, for all anyone knows, he will set in motion a series of diplomatic setbacks that eventually will result in the collapse of all Asia under Communist pressure. Either that, or he will back himself into a corner from which, after years of stalemate, only a vast escalation of the war will remove him. Either way, the world waits more in fear than in hope.

And then there is Lyndon Johnson flapping his arms and getting exactly nowhere in regard to the riots, crime and violence that beset our cities. Rather, he still courts the support of those real extremists who preach violence.

This is a real fear campaign, and Lyndon Johnson is waging it.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

How to Cope With Public's Mistaken Idea About Profits

From the *Washington Report* of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States

That great American penchant for exaggeration and overemphasis extends to one of the things closest to a businessman's heart: Profits.

This may be why the American public has acquired an extremely inflated idea of the size of profits. The distortion is not limited to this country.

Private opinion polls, for example, including those of George Gallup, reveal that most people "guess" that American business profits run about 20 per cent of sales.

In foreign countries, the guestimate runs from 25 per cent to 60 per cent.

In opinion polls conducted by a few companies, employes have set company profits four and five times what they actually were. When countered with the question of what they thought would be a fair profit, they usually cited a figure that was still well above the company's actual profit percentage.

Moreover, people generally believe that about 75 cents of the sales dollar goes to owners with the remainder divided up among employes.

Actually, the opposite is true. According to Department of Commerce figures, employes get 87.1 cents for each 12.9 cents of profit and 93.53 cents for each 6.47 cents of dividends paid to owners. In other words, employe compensation is 6.8 times profits and 14.5 times dividends.

Profits are measured in several ways. There is the return on sales, the return on invested capital, and for economists, the per cent of national income originating as corporate profits. All these may be further broken down by income-producing sectors of the economy.

One close observer of business economics believes that the truest way to talk about profits is to base percentages on sales after taxes.

John Q. Jennings of the Singer Co., New York, feels this method of calculation is more meaningful to employes and consumers, for it shows how much of the money they pay for a product ends up as profit.

On this basis, the national average on corporate profits is normally about three to four cents of the sales dollar.

"It is high time we started acquainting all members of the general public with this fact," Mr. Jennings says.

Unfortunately, the extent to which employes share in the income by employers is not sufficiently explained, he feels, by business or government. Nor are the virtues of methods by which companies plow much of their annual income back into the business for future, long-range benefits sufficiently understood.

As he sees it, this is a job for business through annual reports, reports to employes and stockholders and public announcements.

More comparisons should be made between profits consumption which could be understood by any citizen.

While Mr. Jennings notes that the Commerce Department does a good job of assembling profit statistics, it has not done much "to present these statistics in forms which people can understand."

"Only when people understand the size and the comparisons of aggregate employe compensation with profits and dividends in the U.S. economy are they likely to appreciate the delicate balance that exists between the prosperity which everybody wants and the upward spiral of wage-push inflation which nobody wants," he says.

"Without such an informed public, no voluntary wage guideline will be observed. With an informed public, I doubt that any guideline would be necessary."

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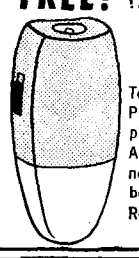

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Headline-Making Controversy Shaping Up

Should Still-Secret Warren Commission Papers Be Made Public?

From the Allen-Scott Report

As the third anniversary of President Kennedy's assassination nears, a headline-making controversy is shaping up here over whether several dozen still-secret documents and working papers of the Warren Commission's investigation should be made public.

This backstage debate, under way for weeks at the highest levels of the Johnson Administration, was touched off this summer by Congress' passage of the Freedom of Information law.

Although this new Federal Public Records statute doesn't become effective until July 4, 1967, the Justice Department is interpreting White House instructions for implementing it as a mandate to make available to the public nearly all the presently classified documents of the Warren Commission probe.

On Aug. 17, 1966, the office of the attorney general asked the National Archives "to apply the same standards of public accessibility to the working papers and administrative reports" as to other public documents it has received from the Warren Commission.

Initiated by Assistant Atty. Gen. Frank Wozencraft, head of the department's Office of Legal Counsel, this little-noticed move could clear the way for the publication of hundreds of secret FBI, Secret Service, State Department and Warren Commission staff papers dealing with the assassination.

In most instances these documents already have been carefully combed by William Manchester, the Baltimore writer picked by Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy to do a family-authorized book on the Dallas tragedy.

Manchester, who knows a good story when he sees one, predicts that his book will cause a major sensation. Friends of the writer report this may be an understatement. They say Manchester not only deals with the actual deed, but relates the assassination to a wider context of events leading up to and immediately following it.

According to these friends of Manchester, his book covers the six crucial days from Kennedy's last public appearance at a White House function before leaving Washington for his Texas tour to after the state funeral.

Still secret—and the center of the present debate—are several dozen government investigative reports and documents of the commission barred from the public "in the national interest."

Only a directive from President Johnson can rip the secrecy seal from these papers, including one from the Central Intelligence Agency calling it the official policy of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, to assassinate or discredit Western leaders actively opposing Russia's foreign policy.

Other documents still under lock and key at the National Archives are CIA and FBI reports which, if published, would reveal investigative techniques and sources of these agencies both in this country and abroad.

For example, one of the more sensational documents reputedly includes the names of several Russian sources that furnished some startling but still uncorroborated information about Oswald and his widow, Marina, during the time they lived in the Soviet Union.

In the sharp debate now raging in the Administration, Under Secretary of State Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach has taken the lead in arguing for publication of all documents on the grounds that sooner or later these papers or their contents will leak to the press. He was still attorney general when his aide called for disclosure of the still secret commission documents.

Katzenbach's position is supported by a number of officials, especially in the Justice Department, who are hold-overs from the Kennedy Administration. They believe publication of these papers will revive interest in the late President's death and indirectly help the political fortunes of Sen. Robert Kennedy.

It is common gossip among these officials that Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, in a profound if not wholly explicable fashion, holds President Johnson partly responsible for her husband's untimely death.

This is said by her friends to be the explanation for Mrs. Kennedy's consistent refusal to meet President Johnson or even his wife socially ever since the state funeral, despite repeated friendly overtures on their part. She has the feeling, they say, that had the then vice president not been so insistent on her husband's making the fatal trip to Texas he might be alive today.

In their arguments against full disclosure of many of the Warren Commission's working papers, FBI, Secret Service and CIA authorities informed the White House they were opposed because of the security implications.

One high-ranking Administration security official charged that blanket release of the working papers would be like making the "raw" files of the FBI or the CIA available to the public. These documents, he stressed, contain a number of unproven statements and allegations.

The size of the sorting problem is indicated by the amount of papers turned over to the National Archives by the Warren Commission.

Twenty governmental agencies furnished more than 300 cubic feet of paper to the Warren Commission. There were over 1,500 Secret Service interviews or reports. In addition, the FBI alone sent the commission 25,000 reports, letters and papers.

As this Administration controversy begins to come out in the open, President Johnson will have to decide personally on whether all the Warren Commission papers will be made public, and when.

Regardless of the decision he makes, many long-time Washington observers believe it will spark a public controversy that could shake this country from coast to coast.

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Mrs. Kennedy's Role as Censor

By JEFFREY ST. JOHN

John F. Kennedy noted shortly after he took office as President: "We are not afraid to entrust the American people with unpleasant facts. . . . For a nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is a nation afraid of its people."

No event in this century has so shattered America and the world as the assassination of John F. Kennedy; it was like a lethal blow to something deep down in the soul of every society on the planet. Even the most bitter foes of John Fitzgerald Kennedy were stunned by the tragedy of Nov. 22, 1963. The story and events prior to, during and after that fatal Friday in Dallas will be studied and pondered over for many decades to come.

However, present and future historians are faced with what can only be classified as the slamming shut of the door of history and honest inquiry. This has been done by the widow of the late President, Mrs. John F. Kennedy.

It was learned, via author and newspaper columnist Jim Bishop, that Mrs. Kennedy intends to prevent any unauthorized person from eliciting information from individuals who knew and worked close to the late President. According to Bishop, who wrote the most enlightening book every read by this commentator on the Lincoln assassination, Mrs. Kennedy twice urged Bishop to drop plans for a book titled *The Day Kennedy Was Shot.* When this failed, the Kennedy family put pressure on Bishop's publisher, Random House.

The most curious aspect of this action by Mrs. Kennedy—Bishop called it "standing in the doorway of history"—is that it is the second such case of apparent or attempted censorship by the Kennedy family.

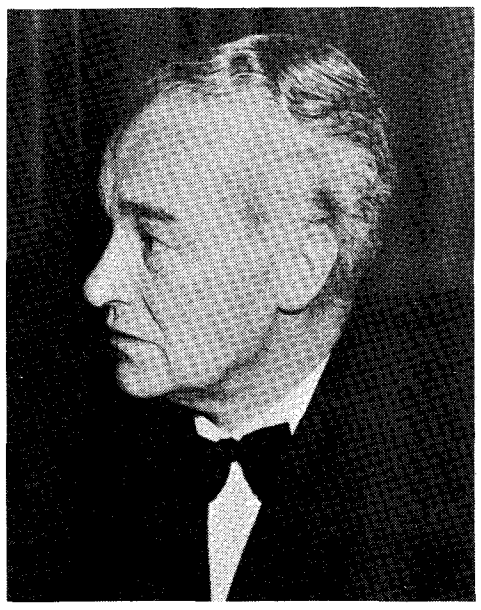
Earlier last month, John F. Kennedy's under secretary of the Navy, Paul Fay Jr., published a book about his association with the President called *The Pleasure of His Company.* Fay was a longtime Kennedy family intimate and spent countless hours with the late President.

Now, because of revelations in the book, Fay has been given to understand that he is no longer welcome within the inner circle of the Kennedy clan.

There is a story making the rounds, too, that Jacqueline Kennedy was so disturbed at what Fay planned to publish that she refused to allow the former Kennedy friend, dating back to JFK's days as a PT boat commander in World War II, to attend the dedication of a JFK monument at Runnymede, England.

Fay himself has refused to confirm that he is on the outs with the Kennedy family because of the book. However, Fay did admit that copies of his work went to each member of the Kennedy family by special delivery prior to publication. Not one, says Fay, has, to date, acknowledged receipt of the book.

Among the objectionable parts of *The Pleasure of His Company*, as far as the Kennedys are concerned, is that the late President used slang words and ate his dinner in hotel rooms in his shorts. This has been classified by the Kennedys as in bad taste and trivia. Perhaps it is, in fact, both. But it also gives the outsider a more human outlook on a man who is fast becoming enshrouded in, and surrounded by, a growing legend.



Noted author Jim Bishop was asked by Mrs. Kennedy not to proceed with his book on the assassination.

With respect to the book by Jim Bishop, there is a paradox we should examine closely.

First, Mrs. Kennedy wrote to Bishop twice in a vain effort to dissuade him from writing the book *The Day Kennedy Was Shot.* When this failed, pressure was put on Bishop's publisher. The reason given by Mrs. Kennedy leaves one puzzled.

In a letter to Jim Bishop dated Sept. 17, 1964, Mrs. Kennedy asked Bishop to "Please not go ahead with your intended book, *The Day Kennedy Was Shot.*"

Continued on page 14

Mr. St. John, a former assistant news director of the ABC radio network, currently broadcasts a nightly news commentary for Radio New York Worldwide, Inc., which is heard in the New York area and in over 100 countries by shortwave. He has covered Washington as a State Department and White House correspondent and was also based for a time at the United Nations.

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The Advantages of Lacking a 'Power Base'

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It's often said that Dick Nixon's chances to get the Republican presidential nomination in 1968 must suffer because he lacks a big state power base. I wonder if this isn't just the parroting of a cliche.

One can prove almost anything by looking at the history of presidential choices. Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee last time out, came from Arizona, a state without convention muscle. But Barry had a juggernaut machine because Clifton White, a non-Arizonan, had built one for him nationally. Barry's opponent, Lyndon Johnson, had Texas behind him, but this had nothing whatsoever to do with being selected to head the Democratic ticket.

LBJ was simply the beneficiary of the historical accident that had elevated him to the presidency with the death of John F. Kennedy. Indeed, when Johnson was trying for a convention victory on his own in 1960 he had lost despite the fact that Texas had many more convention delegates than the victorious JFK's Massachusetts.

It used to be that the candidate from a big power base could make trades. Thus Franklin D. Roosevelt managed to break an impasse in 1932 by letting Texas, in the person of Jack Garner, take the vice presidential slot. But it was no trade that gave New York state's Bill Miller the second place on the Goldwater slate, nor did Lyndon Johnson pick Hubert Humphrey for his running mate because of the convention importance of Humphrey's Minnesota. Both vice presidential candidates were picked for special reasons, Bill Miller because he "drove Johnson nuts," and Humphrey because he ranked high with the liberals of Americans for Democratic Action.

Tom Dewey, of course, owed his nominations to the power of his Albany, N.Y., base. But Nelson Rockefeller hasn't been able to exploit the same for beans. Nor could Bill Scranton use Pennsylvania to lift himself into a position to make a try for the White House.

In 1968 the possession of a "big power base" could actually be a millstone. If Rockefeller wins another term as governor of New York and Ronald Reagan wins in California, they will each have big convention strength. But, in the present-day political climate, the liberal Rockefeller and the conservative Reagan would only have strength to checkmate each other. And, since Michigan's George Romney has not chosen to combat the notion that he is Rockefeller's candidate, the checkmate could extend to Michigan.

Thus it might be that Richard Nixon's lack of a geographical power base will turn out to be a plus in his favor. Since he represents no state, he could be the perfect compromise. If Nixon had stayed in his native California, where he would have remained a bone of contention in the local Republican party, he would be in no such enviable position.

Nixon is gambling very heavily on his own ability to forecast the psychological climate of 1968. In his reading of the crystal ball, nobody will be in a position to make a successful run for the presidency if he is connected in any way with failure to bring the Vietnamese war to a triumphant conclusion. A compromise in Viet Nam that is followed by an upsurge of Communist guerrilla warfare in Thailand, for example, could be almost as disillusioning to voters as an American defeat.

This puts it up to Lyndon Johnson to win a real victory before 1968, which is going to take some doing. If Johnson falls short of this, he can, in Nixon's estimation, be beaten. But could a Republican "soft" win by offering to liquidate the struggle in Asia? As a hard-liner, Nixon must be presumed to doubt it.

Since Richard Nixon represents no one area, he could turn out to be the "perfect compromise" in '68, says Chamberlain.

On the domestic front, Nixon is gambling on depression weather before 1968. His speeches on LBJ's unsuccessful attempts to cancel inflation will establish a perfect "I told you so" record in the event that things go from bad to worse throughout 1967 and early 1968. There remains, for Nixon, the problem of organization to win a few primaries and to nail down delegates. But by campaigning for 60 or 70 Republican candidates for Congress this autumn, Nixon hopes to establish the nucleus of an organization without directly working for it.

In any event, Nixon's bet that psychological climate will tell the 1968 story is a good one. "Power bases" divorced from good tea leaf reading are apt to be worthless.

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Credit Where Credit Is Due

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Maybe my memory is failing me and I should have kept a diary. Almost daily I read articles or hear panel discussions of events I lived through—but described at variance with my own recollection. That's especially true of campaign years—and I note this is one.

The other night, on one of those radio opinion shows, a lady phoned in to warn of the dangers of a Republican victory in California, pointing with pride to Democratic achievements from FDR on. It was Roosevelt, she said, who fought vigorously and almost single-handedly for the repeal of Prohibition, thus wiping out the bootlegging machines.

Now, I was for repeal, but all these years I've been thinking it was Al Smith who led the fight. Well, live and learn.

Still, I do recall—and vividly—that Al brought the issue up at the 1932 Democratic convention, and that the delegates, though favorable, wanted to hear how FDR stood. So Jim Farley came back and announced the candidate was willing to run on a plank calling for repeal or one opposing it, whichever the convention decided.

Now, that is hardly "fighting vigorously and almost singlehandedly." It's more like going along with the consensus, as a later President has. So, no matter what revised histories may say, Al gets the credit in my book.

But it isn't unusual for fans to exaggerate their hero's actual achievements, and no one can fault FDR for his admirer's overstatement.

But I remember one time when Mr. Roosevelt himself reached for more than he was entitled to.

It happened my wife and I were admirers of Fiorello LaGuardia and served as volunteer workers in two of his successful campaigns.

On this occasion—I cannot place the year exactly—LaGuardia was opposed by a highly respected judge who headed the Tammany ticket. With the obvious importance of New York City in mind, the President (who had hand-picked the candidate) felt that with an excellent standard-bearer, backed by his own prestige, he could turn the city back to Democratic rule.

But, though FDR was at the height of his popularity, the signs all indicated that New York was going to stay with the Little Flower.

I dropped in to see the mayor on the Saturday before election to show him some last-minute poll sampling done in normally heavy Tammany districts. They were highly favorable, as were the polls the papers ran, and we discussed them for a while.

"But here," said the mayor, grinning, "is the most encouraging poll yet." And he reached into his pocket and handed me a telegram.

It read something like this: "Dear Fiorello: You know how much I've always admired you and your stand for good government, and I know New York will do the right thing by you next Tuesday. Best regards." And it was signed "Franklin D. Roosevelt."

"Is this on the level?" I asked incredulously.

"Oh, yes," said LaGuardia, "I checked."

"I don't get it," I said. "Everybody knows FDR picked the Democratic candidate and, though officially neutral, has been pulling all sorts of strings for him. Jim Farley raised money and speakers for him—it just doesn't make sense!"

"Oh, but it does," said the Little Flower. "Roosevelt thinks I'm in and has timed this telegram perfectly. He figures I'll give it to the papers tomorrow in time to make the Monday morning headlines. Then, if I win on Tuesday, he'll take the credit for my victory."

"So?" I asked.

"So," said LaGuardia, putting the wire back in his pocket, "this stays right here and nobody is going to see it till after the election. If the President wants credit, let him earn it the hard way."

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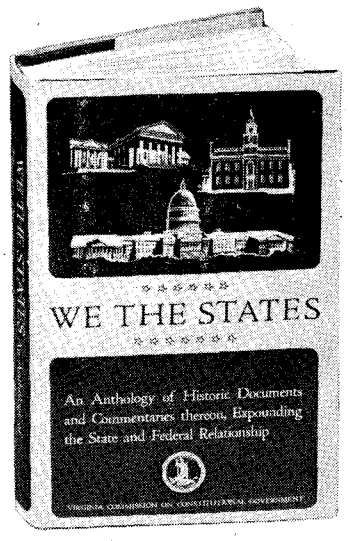
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Continued from Page 12

Mrs. Kennedy Censors History of Assassination

Then the widow of the assassinated President stated: "The idea of it is so distressing to me, I can't bear to think of seeing—or of seeing it advertised—a book with that name and subject—one that my children might see or someone might mention to them."

Yet in the same communication to Bishop, Mrs. Kennedy revealed that she had hired William Manchester to write a history of the assassination to, in Mrs. Kennedy's words, "protect President Kennedy and the truth." The Manchester book is due for publication in January.

The point of puzzlement is that Mrs. Kennedy claims she could not bear the ordeal of seeing a book dealing with the subject of the assassination. But on the other hand she is willing to hire William Manchester, who just happens to be an excellent writer and reporter, to deal with that very ordeal of the assassination in a book that has already been advertised in full-page newspaper advertisements.

And, too, *Look* magazine has paid a huge sum of money for the rights to the Manchester book, which will appear in the magazine prior to publication. Is this not a strange rationalization on Mrs. Kennedy's part?

Jim Bishop said that he had made test attempts to talk to those sources involved with the assassination. Mrs. Kennedy, in a letter to Bishop, replied firmly that "None of the people connected with November 22 will speak to anyone but Mr. Manchester—that is my wish and is theirs, also."

In a letter to Mrs. Kennedy, Bishop noted: "I cannot believe that you mean this. To say that one man may write history, but another may not, amounts to personal copyright."

If Mrs. Kennedy, or someone within the Kennedy family, had not closed to Mr. Bishop sources of information while, at the same time, allowing those same sources to be thrown open to a reporter like William Manchester, one could easily understand the defense of privacy on the part of the Kennedy family. But that is apparently not the case here.

Not only has the Kennedy family declared a former family friend, Paul Fay Jr., expelled from the inner circle because he did not conform to the wishes of that family, but Mrs. Kennedy has hired a journalist to write the story of the Kennedy assassination to protect the late President and the truth. But we should remember that this is the truth as the Kennedy family sees the truth.

William Manchester (above) was commissioned by the Kennedy family to write the "definitive" account of the Dallas tragedy.

This is certainly not to impugn the dedication of the President's widow in seeking to present the truth. But the actions of Mrs. Kennedy and the family over the Bishop and Fay books cast a needless cloud of uncertainty as to whether, in fact, the Kennedy family would not like certain facts about the period before, during and after the assassination to be known.

In still another respect the attempts to engage in what appears to be outright censorship of what was about the most important event of the past 30 years tend to confirm, or at least give substance to, widely circulated rumors that the Kennedy family is intent on building up around the late President a myth and legend; one that will aid and abet the political ambitions of the Kennedy family.

That the book by William Manchester, *The Death of a President,* is due for publication by Harper-Row this January, 16 months before the 1968 presidential campaign begins, does not help lift this cloud of suspicion, however unfounded that suspicion might, in fact, be.

If, on the other hand, Mrs. Kennedy had requested that no book on the death of her husband be published, her stated reasons of enduring great anguish on reliving that fatal Friday in November by seeing a published work would be understandable. This, however, has not been the case.

The fact that Mrs. Kennedy was in the open presidential car at the moment the President was hit with a series of shots is, in itself, a shattering experience to live through. And, too, that she cradled the mortally wounded President in her lap as the car sped to nearby Parkland Hospital only compounded this traumatic experience.

However, a book is being published and will be serialized in a mass circulation national magazine dealing with the assassination. And, as Jim Bishop noted when asked what he thought of the Manchester book: "It must be borne in mind that this is a book that has passed the scrutiny of the Kennedys."

With the Bishop and Fay books and the attempts at censorship by the Kennedys as a backdrop, we find that continuing doubts about the Warren Commission's findings only further confuse the answer to the question: "Who really killed Kennedy?"

Neither the Warren Commission nor the attempts at censorship by the Kennedy family have helped answer this vital question that is now history. And two factors have, down through the ages, plagued historians. First, gaining factual insights by free investigation, and second, bringing forth the human qualities of many men who have loomed large on history's horizon.

In my judgment, Mrs. Kennedy, whatever her well-meaning motivation, has, for the time being, hopelessly compromised the cause of free investigation and gaining greater insights, of a human and spiritual nature, into a man who was her husband and also a nation's President.

John F. Kennedy was fond of quoting men like Patrick Henry. Once in a speech JFK stated: "The facts are there—they must be faced. The answers are not easy. And I believe the American people would say what Virginia's own Patrick Henry said in 1775: 'For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth, to know the worst and to provide for it.' "

□ □ □

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□ □ □

"PRESIDENT JOHNSON says he'll ask Congress to raise Social Security benefits next year. This is known as campaigning on the lay-away plan."—By Jack Wilson in the Washington *Post*

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Red China's Aggression

By REP. H. ALLEN SMITH (R.-Calif.)

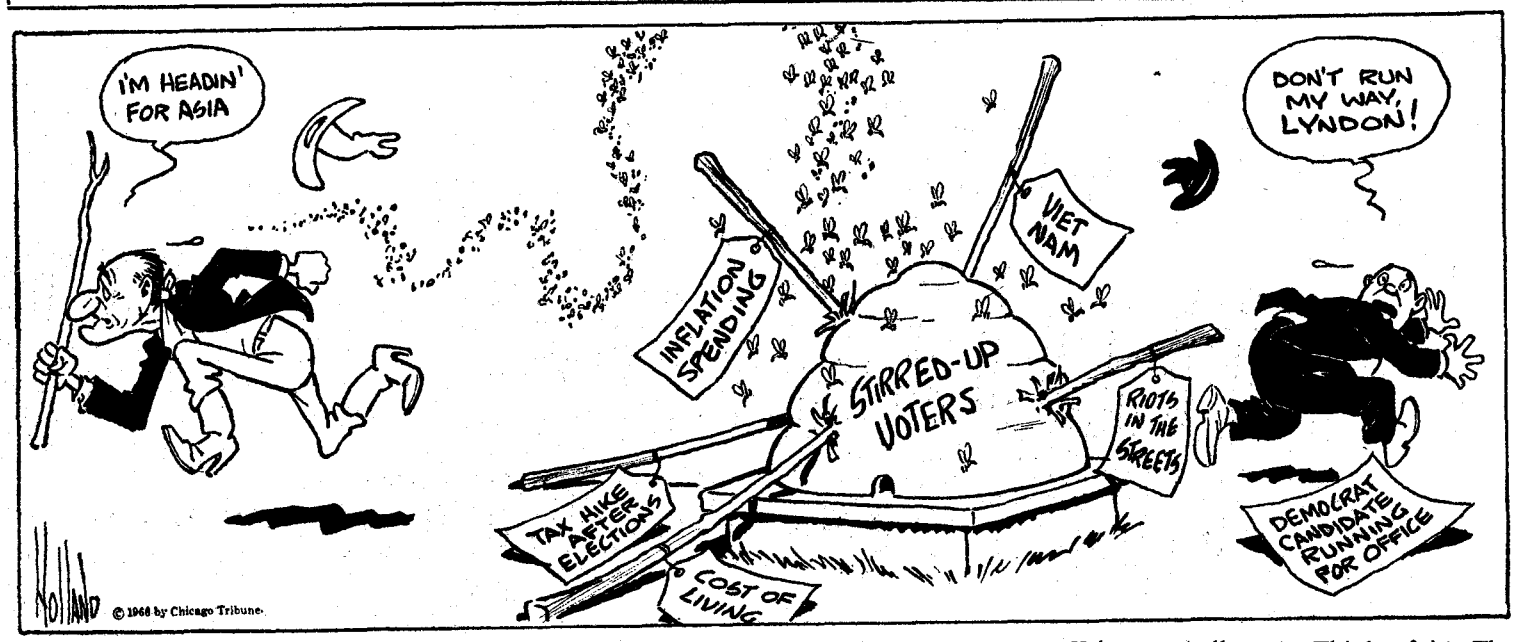
As long ago as 1950 there were leaders in our government, members of Congress and candidates for Congress who were espousing the cause of recognition of Red China by the United States and its admission to the United Nations. Unfortunately for them, just four days before the congressional elections of that year, hordes of Red Chinese troops, tanks, artillery and planes poured into South Korea to join the Korean War against American and United Nations forces.

The history of Red Chinese aggression is 18 years in length and worldwide in scope. The 1948 war in Malaya was financed by Red China, followed by the 1950 aggression in Korea. The Chinese supported the forces which defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu, which laid the groundwork for our present Viet Nam problems. In Laos, Red China's intervention helped set up the coalition government which looks the other way while Laotian territory is used by the Communist Viet Cong for supply routes into South Viet Nam.

Red China has invaded the territory of India and provoked conflict there. Red China has swallowed up Tibet. Its agents have been active in Africa—in the Congo, Ghana and Tanzania. Red China has been active in supplying equipment, tools, weapons and munitions to Communist-led rebellious forces in the nations of Latin America.

Those who today would advocate admission of Red China to a place of equality with the United States in the United Nations must be blind to history's proof that Red China is devoted first, last and always to the Marxist goal of world domination by violence.

WHY HE HIT THE ROAD



Intolerable Riots

By REP. DON CLAUSEN (R.-Calif.)

In a free society there can be no rationalization for a riot as a means of obtaining a certain response from government. Under a totalitarian regime it may be the only way to gain a change of policy, but where our citizens have the absolute right of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and the right to petition the government, violent civil disobedience should not occur and cannot be tolerated.

Federal Fly-Counters

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

Tucked away in the Demonstration Cities bill is a new kind of census which presents endless possibilities to the inventive mind of the political bureaucrat. Wrapped up in a lot of legalistic language is a provision to pay "selected persons" $100 *a day* to count flies and rats in the cities across the country! The bill places no limit on how many census-takers can be employed, nor is there any injunction against awarding these $100-a-day jobs to friends and cronies of the secretary of housing and urban development (HUD).

What a challenge! Think of it! The spectrum of techniques boggles the mind. Perhaps a watermelon feast might be arranged to attract the flies (these beastly little pests seem to come from everywhere when *I* slice a watermelon). And to avoid counting the same fly twice, perhaps the census-taker could carry a spray can of paint and give each little fly a squirt as he (or she) flits by. (Of course, in keeping with the beautification program, pastel colors should be used.) An alternative would be to affix a leg band to each fly as he is ennumerated.

The rats present a somewhat different problem. The $500-a-week statisticians surely would not be content merely to count rats. The secretary of HUD might borrow a page from the Pied Piper and as he stands on the brink of a cliff playing his pipe, the $100-a-day boys could count the rats as they dance over the edge.

House Approves Pool Bill, 275-64

Following is the 275-to-64 rollcall vote by which the House on October 13 passed H.R. 12047 sponsored by Rep. Joe Pool (D.-Tex.). This amendment to the Internal Security Act of 1950 provides fines and penalties for anyone obstructing the movement of men or military material while the United States is in armed conflict. Because of pressures for adjournment, the amendment is expected to die in the Senate. The House acted in response to increasing disaffection with some of the antics of Viet Nam war protesters.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 170

Abbitt
Addabbo
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews, George
Ashmore
Bandstra
Barrett
Beckworth
Bennett
Boggs
Brademas
Brooks
Burleson
Byrne (Pa.)
Cabell
Callan
Cameron
Casey
Chelf
Clark
Clevenger
Colmer
Daddario
Daniels
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Dingell
Donohue
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Edwards (La.)
Everett
Fallon
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Fountain
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Grabowski
Gray
Green (Pa.)
Greigg
Grider
Hagen (Calif.)
Haley
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Iowa)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy
Hays
Henderson
Herlong
Holland
Howard
Hull
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Johnson (Okla.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Karsten
Karth
Kee
Kelly
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
Love
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Marsh
Matthews
Meeds
Miller
Mills
Minish
Moeller
Monagan
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher
O'Neal (Ga.)
Ottinger
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Poage
Pool
Price
Race
Randall
Redlin
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Roberts
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rostenkowski
Satterfield
St. Onge
Schisler
Secrest
Selden
Senner
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Smith (Va.)
Staggers
Stalbaum
Stubblefield
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Thomas
Tuck
Tuten
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Waggonner
Walker (N.M.)
Watts
Weltner
White (Tex.)
Whitener
Whitten
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Wright
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 105

Adair
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Clarence
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burton (Utah)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtin
Dague
Davis (Wis.)
Derwinski
Dole
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halpern
Harsha
Harvey (Mich.)
Horton
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kunkel
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
McClory
McCulloch
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin (Neb.)
May
Michel
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
Pelly
Pirnie
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reifel
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Roudebush
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Walker (Miss.)
Watson
Whalley
Widnall
Wilson, Bob
Wydler
Younger

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 54

Annunzio
Ashley
Bingham
Boland
Bolling
Brown (Calif.)
Burton (Calif.)
Celler
Cohelan
Conyers
Dow
Edwards (Calif.)
Farbstein
Fogarty
Ford, Wm.
Fraser
Gilbert
Green (Ore.)
Griffiths
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler
Holifield
Irwin
Kastenmeier
Krebs
Leggett
McCarthy
McFall
Mink
Moorhead
Multer
Nedzi
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Powell
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rodino
Ronan
Rosenthal
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
Scheuer
Schmidhauser
Sickles
Tenzer
Tunney
Vivian
Waldie
Yates

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 10

Conte
Curtis
Ellsworth
Findley
Kupferman
Mathias
Morse
Reid (N.Y.)
Rumsfeld
Tupper

NOT VOTING: 90

'Demonstration Cities' Clears House

Following is the 178-to-141 rollcall vote by which the House on October 14 passed President Johnson's $1.2-billion "demonstration cities" program. The bill would provide for a program of massive urban renewal, slum clearance, urban planning, etc., for an unspecified number of cities under the direction of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and will thus increase the role of the federal government in the administration of the nation's cities. The bill was later passed by the Senate and will be signed by the President on his return from Asia.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 162

Adams
Addabbo
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Beckworth
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cameron
Carey
Celler
Clevenger
Cohelan
Conyers
Daddario
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Dyal
Edwards (Calif.)
Edwards (La.)
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Fogarty
Ford, Wm.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Green (Pa.)
Grider
Griffiths
Hagen (Calif.)
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hungate
Huot
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Karsten
Kastenmeier
Kelly
Keogh
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kirwan
Krebs
Long (Md.)
Love
McCarthy
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
Machen
Madden
Matthews
Meeds
Miller
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morrison
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Brien
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Powell
Price
Race
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Senner
Sickles
Sisk
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Stalbaum
Stratton
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thomas
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Waldie
Weltner
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Yates
Young

REPUBLICANS FOR: 16

Bell
Ellsworth
Fulton (Pa.)
Halpern
Horton
Keith
Kupferman
McDade
Moore
Morse
Mosher
Reid (N.Y.)
Schweiker
Smith (N.Y.)
Tupper
Widnall

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 58

Abbitt
Andrews, George
Ashmore
Bennett
Burleson
Callan
Casey
Colmer
de la Garza
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Fountain
Gathings
Gettys
Haley
Henderson
Herlong
Hull
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (N.C.)
Kornegay
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
Mahon
Marsh
Mills
Morris
Natcher
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Poage
Randall
Rivers (S.C.)
Roberts
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Secrest
Sikes
Smith (Va.)
Steed
Stubblefield
Sweeney
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Tunney
Waggonner
Walker (N.M.)
Watts
White (Tex.)
Whitener
Whitten
Williams
Wright

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 83

Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Belcher
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Callaway
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Derwinski
Dole
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Goodell
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Halleck
Harsha
Harvey (Mich.)
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Jonas
King (N.Y.)
Kunkel
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
McClory
McEwen
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin (Neb.)
May
Minshall
Mize
Morton
Pelly
Poff
Quie
Reid (Ill.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Robison
Rumsfeld
Schneebeli
Shriver
Springer
Stanton
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Watson
Whalley
Wilson, Bob
Younger

NOT VOTING: 111

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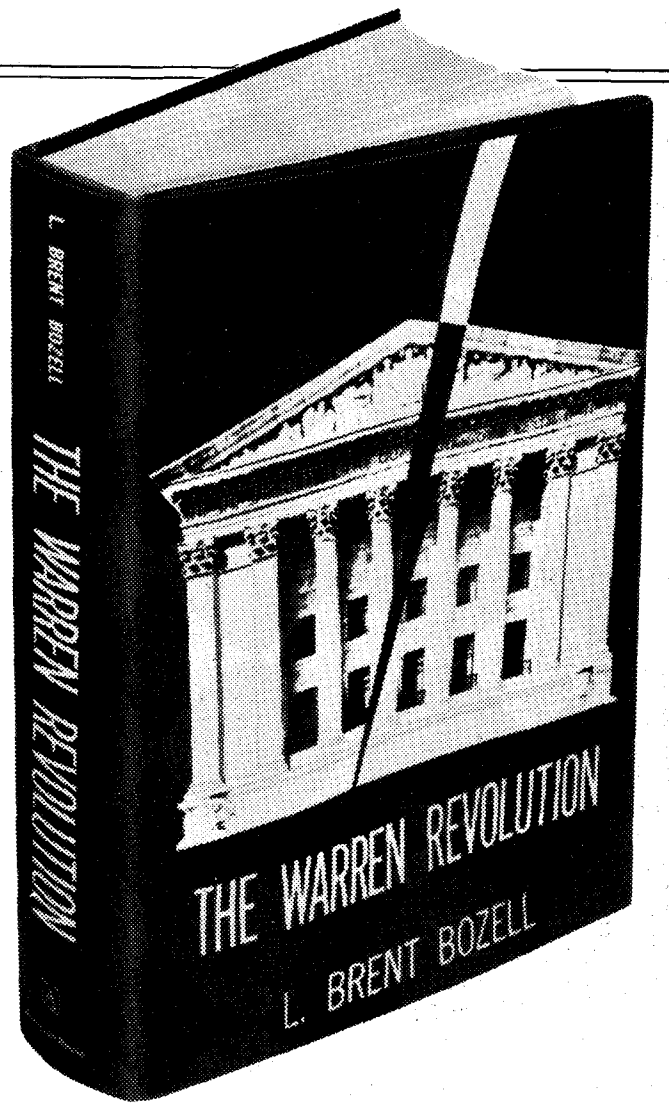

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How did it happen? How did a nation that prides itself on being ruled by law allow these judges to become legislators by whim and political prejudice? With an easy scholarship that is a delight to read, Brent Bozell probes the key decisions and subjects each one to merciless analysis.

High Court Parade of Non Sequiturs

Mr. Bozell reviews the recent cases in which the Warren Court claimed to be sole and final arbiter of the Constitution. These decisions, the Court maintained, would determine not only the rights of the litigants but of every other branch of government, of every private citizen. School desegregation, prosecution of Communists, school prayer — did the Court in these cases render its decisions with due respect for the traditional standards of the Constitution, the legal precedents, the canons of historical research? Have the precedents which the Court cited been genuinely relevant? *Do they actually prove what the Court asserts they prove?*

Most citizens do not have access to the raw data on the cases cited (some going back more than a century). They must rely entirely upon what the Warren Court says. But Brent Bozell goes back to the sources — and turns up some astonishing facts. The "precedents" turn out to be *non sequiturs*. The Court's logic is often shaky. Indeed, in more than one case Bozell proves *actual manipulation of the evidence* . . . and leaves us wondering about the candor and intellectual honesty of the Justices.

Here is a sampling of the valuable data contained in *The Warren Revolution:*

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- *The editorial "decision" that the Warren Court's rulings on apportionment "have unquestionably become the law of the land", and that "It is not the function of Congress to set aside that law, or to thwart its operation"!*
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